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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

A bill abolishing commission government in Buffalo passed the New York legislature, but was vetoed by Mayor Buck. It failed to pass over his veto.

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A committee of one hundred has been organized in Cleveland to secure city manager government. The question will probably come to a vote this year.

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More than 3,000,000 persons enjoyed the playgrounds and parks of New Orleans during 1920 at a cost of \$175,000, according to Louis di Benedetto, manager of public playgrounds.

✱

Minnesota has changed its direct primary law to provide for pre-primary party conventions to indorse candidates for the party nomination.

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Non-partisan elections for second class cities (Pittsburgh and Scranton) have been abolished by the Pennsylvania legislature. Two years ago they were abolished in third-class cities, numbering about thirty. The machine found them troublesome.

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The Michigan county home rule amendment failed to be reported out of committee in the house, although at one time six of the ten members of the committee signed a request to have it considered by the house. The amend-

ment, when approved by the people, would have enabled counties to draft and adopt their own charters under legislative enactment.

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Missouri will vote in August on the question of calling a constitutional convention.

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The constitutionality of the emergency clause attached to the new administrative code of Ohio is to be tested in the courts.

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Prospects are that the present Connecticut legislature will authorize a commission to study the city-manager plan and the advisability of a state-wide optional manager law for all cities.

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The Michigan house has passed the so-called parochial school bill, and its passage by the senate is expected. It provides that all new teachers in parochial schools must have certificates from the state superintendent of public instruction such as would permit them to teach in public schools of equal grade.

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The American consul at Algiers reports a serious housing shortage throughout Algeria. The landlord is surely a world problem these days.

A bill compelling citizens to vote has been introduced into the Massachusetts general court. The penalty for failure without a reasonable excuse is to be five dollars.

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Taxes on gross income of public service corporations in California, an important source of state revenue, have been raised about 35 per cent by the present legislature. Such corporations are now required to pay in taxes about seven and one-half cents out of every dollar received. The state budget which made necessary the increase was bitterly fought by the utilities.

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Vigorous public sentiment threatening political reprisals prevented the passage of a direct primary repealer in the closing hours of the Nebraska legislature.

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For the third time St. Louis recently elected Mayor Kiel for a four-year term, over a fusion candidate who had the support of all the leading newspapers and many civic organizations. The mayor, however, had the backing of a perfect political machine which could afford to spend the money.

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Governor Miller of New York favors the elimination of county government within New York City, which he says is unnecessary and expensive, and is subject to exploitation by partisan politics. In fifteen years the cost of county government has gone up 90 per cent, and its abolition would save \$1,000,000 in salaries alone.

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Testimony before a legislative committee investigating certain New Jersey municipalities disclosed how the Hoboken payroll expanded just before elec-

tion and contracted immediately after. Three hundred and fifty-seven extra employes were hired by the playground department, one of whom admitted that their real work was to "boost the commissioners." Six was the normal number employed on the playgrounds. Similar discoveries were made in county government, but they seem to have been too much for the committee's stomach, and the investigation will probably be dropped.

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Multnomah county's eighty-odd taxing authorities have been subjected to the oversight of a central body known as the tax-supervising and conservation commission. The commission has power even to reduce estimates submitted. Multnomah county includes Portland, and is the largest county in Oregon.

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Detroit is now thoroughly committed to municipal ownership of her street railways. At an election in April she voted to buy about twenty-five miles of additional trackage, and rejected a service-at-cost proposal made by the Detroit United Railway. Since April, 1920, eighteen miles of municipal street railway tracks have been laid, and the plan is to lay one hundred miles more as fast as it can be put down. The trackage taken over at the April election was being operated by the D. U. R. on a day-to-day lease, so that although competition still exists between the two lines, the hand of the city has been strengthened.

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An extreme case of negation of the home rule principle is exemplified in New Hampshire, where the legislature has passed several special acts depriving Manchester of power to run its own affairs. The political party in

power in that city is not the majority party in the state, and the latter sees fit to view the former as a menace. Police, streets, highways and sewers are now under commissions appointed by the governor. In addition, there has been created a finance commission, its members also appointed by the governor, to supervise administrative methods and expenditures. It has power to veto in whole or in part any appropriation voted by the city government. Permission of the commission is required before any notes or bonds can be issued.

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*Party Conventions
Restored in New York*

The New York legislature has abolished the direct primary for the nomination of United States senators, supreme court judges and all officers elected on a state-wide ticket. Candidates for these offices shall be chosen by party conventions. The state convention and judicial district conventions are composed of delegates who have been nominated by petition and elected at the fall primary held two months before the general election. Contests for seats in the convention are to be decided by the courts. The direct primary was retained for local offices.

This repealer carries out the platform pledges of the majority party. The bill was not introduced, however, until just before adjournment and without opportunity for a strong opposition to be heard. The plan to have the party convention designate a candidate subject to possible decision of the direct primary was rejected. The politicians have destroyed something which never worked very satisfactorily in New York from any standpoint, but it is very doubtful if they have bettered the situation by returning to the old, discredited convention.

*Oregon to Protect the
Referendum*

In Oregon the legislature may, by an ordinary majority vote, defeat the operation of the referendum in case of any act by the declaration of an emergency. For many years there has been complaint, in part justified, because of the abuse of the emergency clause. The governor's veto of bills to which the clause has been improperly attached has operated as a substantial check upon the abuse. But, on the other hand, it is pointed out, "there is opportunity for the governor to make the emergency clause the ostensible reason for the veto, which is really based on other grounds." In order to make the governor's power in this connection more effective, and at the same time remove the opportunity for its abuse, the legislature at the last session proposed a constitutional amendment that authorizes the governor to veto "any provision in new bills declaring an emergency, without affecting any other provisions of such bill." This is similar to the article of the German constitution that provides that "a law enacted by the national assembly shall be referred to the people before its promulgation, if the national president so orders."

J. D. B.

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*The Purpose of
a Constitution*

The Louisiana convention has been sitting about two months, and according to reports all hope for a concise new constitution has faded. Hundreds of propositions have been introduced on scores of subjects. It seems as if most of the convention members regarded the constitution as a mold into which to squeeze the social order, rather than as a form of government to enable the people to work out a social order.

The model constitution being drafted by our committee on state government follows the doctrine that the business of a constitution is to set up a sensitive government capable to execute effectually the people's wishes. It will, therefore, be simple and brief. It will not undertake to settle social problems for all time, much less try to fix upon us forever the present economic or social ideas. A member of the Louisiana convention, in introducing a proposition to prohibit cities from engaging in any business enterprise in competition with private individuals said, "It is intended to head off some of the socialistic ideas that are bobbing up in this state." This is a distrustful attitude towards democracy and is a mistaken conception of the function of a constitution. A constitution isn't a straight jacket.

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Charles McCarthy

Charles McCarthy of Wisconsin died on March 26. He had been overworking, as

usual; his war work had been a severe tax on his vitality, and he had finally been persuaded to seek rest in Arizona. He died suddenly following an unexpected operation. The news was slow in reaching his friends in the east. Few, if any, of the newspapers noted it.

In the wide range of his interests and activities two definite accomplishments stand out, for which America will always be under obligation to him. One is the legislative reference bureau, which has made possible an approach to scientific law-making and without which the states would be impotent in the face of the appalling economic and social difficulties of to-day. The other was the university extension idea, which has forever exploded the doctrine that education is the monopoly of those who are able to give up four years and live on a college campus.

McCarthy was a fighter in many campaigns of public service, but at heart he seemed always an educator. The "Wisconsin Idea" was accomplished through education.

That the two institutions so intimately associated with his memory should have been so widely copied in the United States is his deepest tribute. All did not agree with his political science, but that is not important. All do agree that he was a prophet of the people with courage to follow wherever his intellect led him. He will be sadly missed in Wisconsin, and in America.

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The Landlords Lose

Relying on the broad principles of public policy, the United States supreme court

has sustained the rent laws of New York and the District of Columbia. The New York court of appeals had sustained the state act while the District court of appeals had declared the Washington law unconstitutional. The broad effect of both laws was to take rents and leases out of the realm of private contract into the sphere of government regulation under the police power. Justice Holmes held for the majority that circumstances had clothed the renting of houses with a public interest which at other times would be a matter of purely private concern. He pointed out that the police power had been invoked in several cities to limit the heights of buildings and to that extent had interfered with property and rights. He concluded that the restrictions imposed upon landlords does not constitute a deprivation of property without due process of law; neither does the abrogation of leases to surrender possession and of new leases which were to have gone into effect constitute an impairment of contracts under the constitution.

The minority opinion, as do many conservative lawyers, views with alarm this "socialistic" tendency. Nevertheless, the decision will have a far-reaching effect, as future years will demonstrate. It establishes again that the power of government is broad enough to meet public emergencies. Property rights, over which the courts have in the past thrown the protection of the constitution by interpretations never intended by the framers, must yield to the public good.

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*A State Plan for
Illinois*

Illinois is beginning to look ahead. If the Kessinger bill which has already

passed the Illinois senate becomes a law, there will be created a state plan commission to formulate a comprehensive plan of state improvement. The plan may touch matters of state and local government or any public undertaking.

Such a plan, says Mr. George Woodruff, president of the Illinois chamber of commerce, should cover the preparation of charts showing the probable future increase and distribution of population, the probable number of people who will be living in Illinois fifty years from now, the probable number of men and women who will be required to work Illinois farms, the probable size of the average farm holding, the probable number of acres of the built-up area in Illinois cities, and the development generally of interesting statistics to guide the development of the state.

Mr. Woodruff believes that a state plan would extend the system of roads and possibly provide for great scenic boulevards lined with trees and shrubs, as well as proper extensions of steam and electric railways, and comprehensive development of waterways. He indicates that the report of the

state plan commission should include questions of soil production and better agricultural life, better systems of rural schools, social centers, rural libraries, gymnasiums, community buildings, the broad development of landscape gardening in the country. Laying particular stress on the wise policy of the federal government in creating a system of national parks and monuments he advocates state parks and monuments.

The application of recommendations of such a report would involve a program which would run into the next generation.

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Federal Reorganization

During the 66th congress, when investigations were in fashion, there were introduced numerous resolutions to investigate and report on the federal executive departments. A joint committee of six, "to make a survey of the administrative services of the government," created in December of 1920 by a resolution which had passed the senate in the preceding May, held its first meeting after the convening of the 67th congress, April 11, 1921.

The executive mind appears to have moved at greater speed since March 4 than the more ponderous legislative organ. During the first seven weeks of the new administration, President Harding let it be known that he desires the army, naval and air forces to be joined into a single cabinet department of national defense and that he advocates the prompt creation of a new department of public welfare.

The president has appointed the Dawes committee of eleven which reported on April 7, recommending the establishment of a veterans' service administration, directly responsible to the president, comprising the bureau of war risk insurance, the rehabilitation division of the federal board for voca-

tional education, and such part of the public health service as is necessary. The secretary of the treasury has already directed the transfer from the public health service to the bureau of war risk insurance of all work and personnel of the health service connected with the medical treatment for disabled veterans, with the exception of the hospitals and dispensaries.

The president has designated his physician, Brigadier-General Sawyer, to conduct an informal survey and propose a plan for the new department. This plan, as set forth by General Sawyer in the hearings before the senate committee on education and labor on the Kenyon bill (S. 408), to establish a department of social welfare, contemplates a department of public welfare which shall be comprised of four main divisions, each under the direction of an assistant secretary. The activities of the new department would thus be grouped under education, public health, social service and veteran service administration. Through General Sawyer the president has let it be known that, "He regards it as essential that this legislation be drafted so as to create the department. He is not happy merely in resolutions. He wants action."

The secretary of commerce, in his speech before the engineers, set forth his ideas of uniting in the department of commerce those services which have to do with commerce and navigation.

And, finally, the president has requested that congress authorize him "to appoint a representative of the executive to co-operate with the joint committee on reorganization," at an annual salary of \$7,500, the amount received by senators and representatives in congress. The senate has already passed the joint resolution to put this request into effect.

If all signs do not fail, there will be so many changes in the executive map during the next six months that surveyors will have difficulty in locating the prevailing boundaries. The careful survey contemplated by the last congress, which provided that the joint committee should make final report by December, 1922 was quite obviously based on the supposition that the executive services would remain static long enough for a time exposure to produce an accurate photograph.

A dynamic force—the executive—has entered and upset these orderly plans for a two years' survey and report. It is possible that the joint committee may still make itself useful in the way of drafting legislation to meet the demands of the executive. Certainly, if the creation of the joint committee should result in the establishment of a method for bringing about changes in the executive machinery as they are needed, rather than "sixty years after," a contribution to effective management will have been made.

H. J.

IOWA LEGISLATURE VIOLATES CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

BY FRANK E. HORACK

At the general election in 1920 the question of calling a convention to revise the constitution of Iowa was submitted to the voters in accordance with a provision of the constitution itself which provides for the submission of the question to a popular referendum every ten years. For the first time the proposition received a majority of those voting on the question.

When the general assembly met in January, 1921, there were certain evidences of a desire somehow to escape the responsibility for calling a convention. The statement was frequently made that in the present state of social unrest this was really no time to have a constitutional convention. Yet at first no one seriously doubted but what the assembly would carry out the express mandate of the people.

About a month before adjournment the house passed a bill providing for a partisan convention to meet in 1923. About two weeks later the senate passed a substitute. In the conference which followed the house members did everything they could to kill the bill. In an article in one of the state papers the chairman said afterwards that the house conferees were unanimously opposed to a convention and insisted that the senate must take their bill or nothing, hoping this would result in a deadlock which would prevent the measure passing. The adjournment of the assembly a few hours later, without fulfilling the express mandate of the people as provided in the constitution, has been the subject of considerable comment since, as many probably just-

tifying the action of the legislature as condemning it.

The opponents of the convention in the legislature have tried to justify their action on the ground that the voters had been fooled by the appeals of the Farm Bureau into voting for a convention, and that now they had changed their minds and no longer wished to have one called. The farm papers, one of which had supported the Non-Partisan League, had worked for a convention. Some justified their action on the ground that the majority by which the people voted for a convention was so small that it showed no real desire to have one, although the constitution provides that a majority of those voting on the question shall decide.

To the writer it appears that the action of the legislature was revolutionary in character. In the last analysis it means that the legislature has usurped the sovereign power when it can set aside the vote of the people and refuse to carry out the express provisions of the constitution on the ground that the people did not know what they were doing, or that it will be expensive to comply, or for any other reason.

In looking over the debates of the convention of 1857, it is interesting to note that there were men then who anticipated the possibility of the legislature defeating the expressed will of the people. One of the early governors had defeated a bill for constitutional revision by a pocket veto; and so vigorous though unsuccessful attempt was made in the convention of

1857 to make the amending process self-executing, in order, as one delegate said, "to prevent the legislature from assuming the right to deprive the people of the right to say when and where and how they will amend their constitution."

A number of prominent papers in the state declare that it was not for the legislature to review and re-decide whether a constitutional convention

was desirable, nor was it their function to go behind the election returns and determine what motives actuated the people in voting for a convention. Numerous declarations are now being made that the members of the assembly responsible for thwarting the express will of the people will hear from them at the next election; but the legislators probably rest secure in knowledge that the people soon forget.

CORRUPT JUDGES RECALLED IN SAN FRANCISCO

BY PAUL ELIEL

Police judges in collusion with corrupt bail bond brokers and attorneys were recalled by the people after indictments by the grand jury had been dismissed. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

FOR some years past there has been a steadily growing impression in the minds of San Franciscans that the real fountain-head of whatever political corruption might exist in San Francisco could be traced to our police courts. The courts are four in number, the judges elected for four-year terms, and the salary \$3,600 per annum.

Rumors of impossible conditions in the police courts had been obtaining a considerably increasing momentum when in the early part of 1920 a new grand jury was empaneled. This grand jury was the first in years that contained a majority of members who were desirous of making something of it other than a white-washing agency. They, therefore, proceeded to make investigations of police court conditions. The results of their investigations were startling indeed. It was shown that all of the worst practices found in inferior courts were known in San Francisco, and that, in addition, two or three prominent bail bond brokers

and a small coterie of attorneys practicing in the police courts practically controlled the administration of justice.

It was the general practice after bail bond brokers had provided bail for their clients, for the clients to fail to appear in court. A bench warrant was then issued, and eventually the person declared a fugitive from justice. Within a varying period—sometimes a month, sometimes a year—the bail was exonerated.

Police court fines had been dropping off with enormous rapidity, until in 1919 San Francisco's total collections from fines in all courts were less than the average collection per court in other cities of comparable size.

With these facts before them, and with others of a similar nature which showed that in flagrant cases guilty parties had been dismissed, the grand jury proceeded to return indictments against the most notorious bail bond broker, and also one of the judges of the police court. Shortly after the

indictments were returned, it was shown that in certain cases juries were hand-picked in the criminal departments of the superior court through manipulation of the jury wheel.

When the cases were brought to trial, evidence was so largely circumstantial, and practically without corroboration (except for the testimony of an attorney then under conviction for misappropriation of funds), that the bail bond broker was acquitted, and, on advice of the attorney-general who was instructed by the governor to prosecute the cases, the indictment against the judge was also dismissed. No indictment had been returned against the second judge, although a true bill had been found, because one member of the grand jury had been won over to his side on the night that the indictment was expected to be returned.

When the city was considering charter amendments last fall, an amendment was submitted to the board of supervisors by the Bar Association, Commonwealth Club and Civic League, making the position of police judge appointive. This amendment was outlined in an earlier issue of the REVIEW. It failed to find a place on the ballot, however, owing to the opposition of certain attorneys and of organized

labor. A substitute amendment, placed on the ballot and designed to confuse the issue, was defeated at the polls.

Early this spring the Bar Association, the Civic League of Improvement Clubs and other organizations began the circulation of petitions designed to bring about the recall of the two judges previously under fire. After great difficulty, two candidates were secured to oppose them, and the bitterest campaign in the history of San Francisco began. Organized labor was the strongest opponent of the recall, owing to the fact that the judges had always been very friendly towards persons arrested in labor disputes. All of the entrenched powers of evil and corruption, of course, were also behind the existing order. A large number of organizations, however, took the other side, and the women assumed a yeoman's share of the burden in pre-election work. When the votes were counted, the incumbents were found to be defeated by approximately 5,000 votes each.

Meantime two vacancies in the other two departments of the police courts had occurred, and the mayor had made excellent appointments. San Francisco now has for the first time in years a police bench in which all four judges are men of sterling integrity.

ONTARIO CLINGS TO PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

BY W. J. DONALD

The Farmer-Labor cabinet tried to dig itself in for four years by passing an election novelty destroying cabinet responsibility. ::

CURIOUSLY out of place in a British legislature is the least that can be said concerning the section of a bill introduced in the 1920 session of the Ontario legislature and championed by the Farmer-Labor cabinet which would have provided not merely for a maximum term of four years for each assembly, but also for a minimum term of four years for the current assembly and for each succeeding assembly.

This proposal was promptly and severely criticised by most Canadian political thinkers as an attack on a fundamental principle of the British (and Canadian) parliamentary system and as contrary to the spirit of responsible government which presumes that, if there is a vote of lack of confidence in the cabinet or government, the cabinet will resign and the crown or its representative has no other course than to accept the resignation of the premier and the ministry to call on some other leader to form a cabinet or, failing to secure a ministry, to dissolve the legislative body and call for an election.

The proposal was made as a method of preventing what the *Toronto Globe* (liberal) referred to as "resort to the snap election verdict which has been used at psychological moments to renew the governmental life of parties which have as their ideal preferment rather than service to the state." The *Globe* refers to the occasional timing

of an election by the party in power so that public sentiment on some passing and possibly unimportant event may overshadow opinion on some more fundamental problem because of which the government would otherwise face defeat.

As a matter of fact, the importance of the "snap" election evil has been greatly exaggerated. The criticism usually emanates from the "outs," whether they be Liberals or Conservatives. In Canada, people talk as if scandalized whenever a general election is "precipitated." Clearly, the remedy is in the hands of the public, for, if it really resents the holding of an election before the fall term of the legislature has expired, it can punish the government by defeating it at the so-called "snap" election. It is generally believed, however, that the real reason for the proposal was the difficult political situation which the Farmer-Labor cabinet faced.

Quite unexpectedly, in August of 1919, as was pointed out in a previous article in the *REVIEW*, the Farmers' party found itself charged with the responsibility of governing the province of Ontario. Premier E. C. Drury was confronted with the problem of forming a cabinet despite the fact that he did not have a plurality of "farmer" members to support him in the assembly. As a consequence, a combination with labor was proposed and accomplished.

Coalition governments, as the British call them, are unstable enough under the most favorable circumstances; but the coalition of two groups so radically different as labor and farmer seemed utterly hopeless. Labor itself had internal dissention; and among the farmers, one might have found it easy at any time to start a controversy between former "Liberals" and former "Conservatives." Be it said, to Premier Drury's eternal credit, that he handled a difficult situation with masterly skill.

WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED

The outlook for Premier Drury at the beginning of the 1920 session was not a pleasant one. Is it any wonder that he seized on the proposal for legalizing a "four-year term" as a possible way of salvation for the infant party and for a quite inexperienced cabinet? Had the bill actually passed, it would have somewhat changed political procedure in Ontario.

In the first place a cabinet would have been more likely to introduce bills which were not certain of sufficient support. Heretofore and now, bills which are certain to fail are not introduced by the government, and bills likely to fail are withdrawn in caucus, the government thus avoiding the embarrassment of open defeat.

It should be remembered, however, that the bill could not take away the power of the lieutenant-governor to dissolve the assembly without the consent of his ministers,—power which is provided for by the British North America Act. In practice, however, the lieutenant-governor would probably not have dissolved the assembly without the consent of the cabinet, except in rare cases, and, in turn, the cabinet would have advised dissolution only when it had proved impossible to

carry on the government. Actual dissolution would have brought up difficult questions of procedure, such as the question as to whether the new assembly was elected for a full term of four years, or only for the remainder of the unexpired term of four years.

The alternative, which the bill did not prevent, would have been the establishment of a new cabinet, or at least an attempt to establish one, which would often have proven difficult and always unsatisfactory.

The *Toronto Mail and Empire* (conservative) was correct when it stated that there are distinct advantages in the power of dissolution and that "If, in the course of a dozen years, the same government faces the people at the polls four times instead of three, its rule is the more likely to be democratic."

The somewhat amusing fact is that the government faced the likelihood of defeat on this clause of the election bill, and therefore withdrew the proposal. Thus, by withdrawing a clause designed to continue a government in power for four years, the new cabinet possibly saved itself from defeat at its very first session.

The Farmer-Labor cabinet chose to brave the possibilities of defeat at the next session by an improbable coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, or by a more likely disaffection of labor, rather than face the danger of defeat during the first session over an issue of their own making.

Thus not even the exigencies of a cabinet in a precarious and difficult situation served to permit any tampering with the British principle of continual responsibility of the government to the will of the people as expressed in the legislature.

Premier Drury again demonstrated his sagacity by withdrawing the proposal.

THE SMALL TOWN AWAKENS

BY RICHARD B. WATROUS

Member Executive Board, American Civics Association

I

To one with his hand on the pulse of those communities that are most diligently seeking guidance for the direction of energies looking toward finer living conditions it is not at all difficult to note the quick firm beat that comes from the small American towns. To an extent they have caught the spirit that has prevailed and accomplished large things in the metropolitan cities, but, more than that, they are developing a spirit that is almost original or at least that differs largely from that of the great centers of population where things are done in the mass and with the aid of vast municipal legislative machinery. From the small town comes the interest manifested by the individual citizens—men and women—who are becoming more and more conscious of prevailing and wrongly balanced conditions on the one hand but more notably conscious of deficiencies in their community existence.

This new consciousness is significant, for it manifests itself in more important ways than the occasional indignant outbursts against community abuses, such as dirty streets, spoiled water fronts and general untidiness. Conditions such as these can be corrected, either temporarily or permanently, by ways of what has in the past been called "civic reform" and more specifically "clean-up" days, weeks or months. These, however, are temporary expedients, and in most instances have failed of the purpose they might accomplish to establish continuous habits of town cleanliness. The new thinkers

are plowing deeply and opening up new furrows in their attitude toward their communities as a whole. Without knowing much about or understanding at all what is comprehended by the term city planning, they are, nevertheless, catching the vision of the city planner, whose aims and calculations are so largely for the future. This new type of small-town citizen wants to see movements started that will aim toward conditions of living to produce the most of happiness for all the people of all classes.

Imbued with these new ideas these individuals in hundreds and thousands of small towns are getting together in little groups and seeking light as to how best they can organize so as to accomplish collectively what they, as individuals, realize are important things to accomplish. The small town differs from the large city in that it does not have in continuous session legislative bodies to enact ordinances, define courses of action and policies to be pursued. They are not large enough to maintain chambers of commerce or boards of trade. Rather it must be through group organizations of people themselves that policies are to be outlined and set forth as those to be followed.

II

Probably at no previous time has there been a greater need for wise counsel to the small towns and cities than at the present time, and certainly there has never been such fertile ground in which to plant new seed. Certain of the national organizations have

made a study of the needs of communities and they must be in a position to advise these small towns how to organize local civic leagues, or other community groups, so that they may be the medium for the expression of the best sentiment of the community and bear a relation to the community itself similar to the relation that legislative councils and business organizations bear to the citizenship in the larger cities.

That a positive need for such guidance exists is demonstrated by the inquiries that come, for instance, to the American Civic Association at its Washington offices from scores of small towns in all parts of the United States. In making reply to these inquiries it will not do to say that Chicago has been doing thus and so, that New York has applied certain reforms, that Philadelphia has been successful in accomplishing this or that. The problems of these large cities are not the problems of the small towns.

Too often it has happened in national meetings or conferences where there has been a generous attendance from small towns that the principal speakers have been from the big cities and they have, as a rule, told their audiences what they were doing in their own communities. They have been passing out a diet that has been totally indigestible to the men and women from the small towns. It is not exaggerating to say that, notwithstanding the good intentions of these speakers, they have been treating the small towns very much as a nurse would treat a babe of six months if she tried to feed it beef instead of milk. What the small towns need is help that is directly applicable to them. The field for such service is vast because it is not necessary to say that the small towns vastly exceed in number the large cities.

Certain fine initial steps have been

taken in the past to meet this demand. For seven years the American Civic Association has had in circulation, and with excellent results, a most useful pamphlet, *Civic Improvement in the Small Towns*, written by Miss Zona Gale, who has lived in small towns and has had her hand on the pulse of the small-town resident. But that fine message has reached but a small portion of those who are seeking just what it has to offer. In recognition of this positive need the association is now preparing, and will issue soon, another new pamphlet on the same subject which will undertake to answer in brief form just as many of the queries that have come to its officers during the past five or six years from the small towns as possible. It will urge the organization of local civic bodies, the membership of which shall be general and very democratic. It will go so far as to outline a prospective form of organization and suggest the most workable constitution and by-laws. It will suggest and define activities of committees to meet various conditions.

All of these suggestions will be so formulated and set forth as to meet, so far as humanly possible, the new consciousness of the small town which wants to be told how to develop itself, not for to-day alone but for tomorrow. As one pauses to contemplate the area of the United States and to consider the thousands and thousands of little groups of Americans in very small towns, in towns and in small cities he cannot but be impressed with the fine opportunities that lie before those ambitious to render a national service to direct their energies quite exclusively to assisting these centers of human activity that are already aroused to a consciousness of their needs and seek only guidance for the direction of their ambitions.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY WEATHERS THE STORM

BY RALPH S. BOOTS

Columbia University

Brief comment on various efforts to abolish or modify the direct primary. Some reformers and all politicians are dissatisfied with it.

TWELVE state governors referred to the direct primary this year in their messages to the legislatures. Their opinions showed great variability, and if an average of their attitudes could be struck, it might be designated "critical." At the one extreme stood Governor Mechem of New Mexico, recommending the adoption of a state-wide primary law for the nomination of all candidates for public office (New Mexico is one of the six states which have no direct primary law), and at the other, perhaps, Governor Hart of Washington, urging the out-and-out restoration of county and state conventions, with the comment, "Time and experience have demonstrated that the direct primary is not the rose-strewn pathway that leads to the political Utopia dreamed by its sponsors." The admonition of Governor Hyde of Missouri was, "Put teeth in the primary law." Governor Dixon of Montana took practically the same position as Governor Cox of Massachusetts, the former saying, "The most plausible argument advanced against the present primary law is that the voters cannot know the personal qualifications of the long list of candidates for the various minor elective state offices," and the latter, "The objection which seems to have most weight arises because there are so many offices to be filled in a state-wide primary. . . ." Both accepted the direct primary principle

and advocated the short ballot as the logical solution of the difficulty, so that the governor, in Massachusetts at any rate, would be the only elective state officer.

The tone of the messages in Nebraska, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and Indiana, was quite plainly hostile, due in the first two states, perhaps, to the ravages of the Non-Partisan League. The Republican platform in New York proposed the restoration of the convention to nominate all candidates for state-wide election and justices of the supreme court (elected by districts). Governor Miller accepted this plank in his campaign and later indicated an intention to send a special message on the subject, which was not carried out.

ACTION IN VARIOUS STATES

What did the legislatures do to the direct primary? In all states with practically but one exception, New York, the direct primary maintained its lines unturned and unbroken in the face of a fairly heavy assault, inspired, if not directed, from Washington, according to the suspicions of the *Indianapolis News*, in order to prepare for a general abolition of the presidential primary before 1924. Tactical superiority, however, would seem to lie in a reversed order of procedure, since it is almost certain that the primary laws

for the nomination of state officers have a much more solid popular support than those attempting to popularize the action of the national nominating conventions.

In Indiana a severe attack on the primary was resisted by the League of Women Voters and ex-Senator Beveridge. Friends of the primary counter-attacked by proposing the extension of the law to include the nomination of minor state officers (now nominated by convention), in somewhat striking contrast to expressions of short ballot opinion noted above. The only primary repeal bill introduced in the house was easily killed. The Beardsley bill in the senate, which provided the convention for state and county nominations, and reserved to any county committee the right to authorize the direct primary for the county area, was defeated after a considerable contest during which it was proposed that a popular referendum be held on the measure. Some opponents of the bill decried an appeal to the people on the ground that it would be only a surrender to the machine politicians of both parties who could swing the organization vote and carry the proposal. One wonders if the voters in Indiana are less careful of their political privileges than their representatives are.

Idaho in 1919 repealed in part its direct primary law of 1909, providing for the nomination of state and congressional candidates by convention. This year there was a great effort to restore the primary, which was one of the big issues of the session. The house passed readily a bill for the purpose, but the senate turned it down, and at the very close of the session the two houses staged a carefully planned disagreement over the time of referring the question to the voters. The N.P.L. seems to have gained control of the machinery of the Democratic

party in Idaho and to have figured in the fight.

In Nebraska a proposal to provide for a state convention to nominate candidates for the subordinate state offices was defeated with little effort, as was also, seemingly, a proposal to have preliminary state conventions designate three candidates for nomination to each office, who should be the only contestants permitted at the primary. The former was practically the same proposal that met defeat at popular referenda in Nebraska and South Dakota last fall. In Minnesota a bill was introduced creating state, county, and congressional district conventions. The delegates to county conventions were to be selected at a March primary. County conventions were to select delegates to the higher conventions. All these conventions were authorized to endorse candidates for nomination within their respective areas, and these endorsed candidates were to have first place on the ballot at the primary election in June, with the designation: Endorsed by — party convention. Voters were required to enroll in parties in order to vote at party primaries, and no voter participating in the March primary for the selection of delegates could change his party for the June primary. Notwithstanding serious opposition, especially from the Non-Partisan League in the house, the bill passed and is now a law.

No provision for radical modification of the primary seems to have made headway in Washington. A bill to require party enrollment as a prerequisite to participation in a primary and another dealing with the selection of county and state committees and recognizing conventions for other than nominating purposes, attracted considerable attention and were passed.

What was considered by many as an entering wedge to overthrow the direct primary system in Massachusetts was defeated when the legislature rejected measures providing, one for the nomination of minor state offices by convention and another for the endorsement of candidates by pre-primary convention. No significant changes were made in Oklahoma and Colorado nor apparently in New Hampshire.

NEW YORK RESTORES CONVENTION

The New York legislature, in the closing rush of the session, restored the party convention for nominating state officers, United States senators, and justices of the supreme court. Delegates to the state conventions and judicial district conventions are to be designated by petition and elected at party primaries. For a time it seemed that county committees would be permitted to designate without petition one set of organization candidates for delegates. Even *The New York Times* could not stomach this proposal. For local nominations the present primary is retained. This action is the climax of six years of threatening by the

party organizations, during which the violation of the spirit of the direct primary by unofficial organization designations seemed to arouse little hostility among the voters. In no instance in those years did a candidate put forward for a state office by an unofficial convention fail of nomination.

Perhaps some experience with the Minnesota and New York plans will afford guidance in further modifying the nominating process in other states. If the parties in control of the legislatures which made these changes do not fare badly at the next elections, it may be confidently asserted that other legislatures will take courage and persist in the onslaught on the direct primary. But a return to the convention system can hardly be viewed without uneasiness by anyone with knowledge of its history and with a belief in more responsible party government. It is to be hoped that the friends of the primary can agree on such improvements as will make it more conducive to party responsibility, less exposed to attack on the ground of inferior product, and more readily responsive to the control of the rank and file of the party voters.

NEW YORK'S NEW TRACTION PROGRAM

BY RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL

Secretary, New York City Club

The governor of New York has forced through the legislature a law creating a transit commission for New York city which supplants the city government so far as traction matters are concerned. :: ::

GOVERNOR MILLER has put through the New York legislature a drastic traction program. While it applies only to the city of New York, the language of the bill covers "all cities containing a population of more than one million inhabitants." This is the usual subterfuge for avoiding a provision of

the state constitution requiring that bills affecting only one city shall be sent to the mayor and may be passed only with his approval or over his veto.

The act concentrates in three commissioners appointed by the governor all powers hitherto possessed by the board of estimate or other city agencies

to deal with transit matters in New York city and all the regulatory and police powers of the state. Every possible power is conferred except that under the state constitution there are certain minor reservations in regard to giving consent for new routes, and there are, of course, very effective constitutional restraints to prevent any commission from taking away contract or property rights from the private companies. It is also true that the new commission cannot directly pledge the credit of the city for the construction of new municipally owned lines. It will be seen, however, that under the plan contemplated the city can be forced to take title to the surface lines and contracts can be entered into on behalf of the city which will bind the car riders for an indefinite period of time.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP EVENTUALLY

Consideration is to be given by the commission to the working out of a plan by which title to the surface lines may be vested in the city. It is set forth that such a plan shall be based upon a valuation to be determined by the commission. Existing railroad securities are to be exchanged for new securities representing this valuation and secured by an operating lease, with a guarantee that such rates of fare will always be allowed as may prove adequate to pay operating expenses and an agreed rate of return upon the valuation.

As originally introduced, the valuation clause was wide open and read as follows: "Such valuation shall be in such detail and shall include such elements of cost or values and shall be made in such manner as the commission may prescribe." At the end of the session, however, this section was considerably improved by the addition of the following language: "Such valua-

tion shall be made with due regard to the estimated prospective earning capacity of the property necessarily used in the public service at the rate or rates of fare that the company prior to the taking effect of this act was entitled to charge in view of the provisions of the contract or franchise under which the property is operated or held or of any lawful order in force fixing or regulating rates of fare and of the competition of other lines and with due regard to all other pertinent facts and conditions; but such valuation shall not in any case exceed the fair reconstruction cost of the property less depreciation."

In addition to its sweeping powers for dealing with the surface lines the commission is authorized to come to an agreement with the companies for a rewriting of the contracts for operation of the subways to which the city now holds title and in which it has invested about three hundred million dollars.

HOME RULE DENIED

Various steps are prescribed for the holding of public hearings on the plans above outlined before binding contracts are executed. The taxpayers, voters, and elected representatives of the city, however, have only the right to criticize and to make suggestions. The commission can finally take action without the consent of any local authority other than itself. This it can do notwithstanding any provisions of law to the contrary in the general city law, the greater New York charter, or elsewhere, and notwithstanding any right which the city may now hold under existing franchises or contracts.

In contrast to the far-reaching powers of the commission in dealing with the rights and interests of the city is its very feeble legal position where the rights and interests of the traction com-

panies are involved. There are more than thirty separate operating companies and a baffling variety of securities whose holders all have their own special angles of interest. Under the constitution, and by the terms of the bill, every company may "elect" whether it will accept any proposed plan. Sponsors for the bill, however, are hopeful that the present weak financial condition of the companies under their present rate of fare will incline them to be reasonable and make them willing to give something up in order to get other and better things in return.

IMMEDIATE FARE INCREASES AUTHORIZED

Authority is also given to grant immediate temporary increases in fare without waiting for the working out of the permanent plan. In fact, such temporary readjustment of fares was made mandatory by the change of a "may" to a "shall," which was slipped in unnoticed in an amendment at the close of the session. As a partial safeguard, however, to prevent a temporary increase from defeating the permanent plan by surrendering the only power which the city holds over the companies, it is provided that in connection with the granting of a temporary increase the commission may require the companies which are to benefit to execute such stipulations as may be deemed necessary to further and protect the consummation of such plan. Some skeptics think, nevertheless, that the increase in fare is the only part of the program which will ever become effective.

The commission is often spoken of as an impartial tribunal. It may be observed, however, that in so far as the rights of the community are concerned it will be acting for all practical purposes as a principal. This will place

it in an exposed position. It will be dealing with officers and attorneys for the companies, who, after negotiating and bargaining for the interests which they represent, will always have to come back to their own principals for final authority. In the meantime the business community will be expecting the commission to work miracles and will be urging a prompt settlement. The general public will be helplessly awaiting the outcome, and the board of estimate and other city officials will be engaged in obstructive litigation.

There can be no doubt that transit problems in New York have become acute. There is need for a thoroughgoing investigation and the working out of a plan. Unification of the surface lines is to be desired and a considerable concentration of authority was doubtless necessary in order to produce results. Governor Miller was the first to present a comprehensive official plan of action. He has attempted to cut the Gordian knot.

CITY ADMINISTRATION DISTRUSTED

That the principle of home rule could be so ruthlessly swept aside is due largely to general lack of confidence in the ability of the present city administration to deal with so complex a problem. This has been a potent influence in spite of the fact that the present city administration has only a few more months to serve.

In putting forth the program Governor Miller has invoked the full sovereign power of the state and has asserted the ancient legal doctrine that municipal governments are mere agents or instrumentalities of the state for the convenient administration of local affairs, the state always reserving the power to eliminate one agency and displace it with another. There is much law to support this point of view. But

to those who have approved of the recent development of increased local control over local problems a full assertion of this principle may sound as would a claim on the part of the King of England to exercise such of his rights and prerogatives of a century ago as have never been specifically repealed by statute.

The situation invites students of government to reflect upon one of the great anomalies of our American constitutional system. The average citizen feels that his first loyalty is to the federal government and he follows federal elections with an intense interest. If he lives in an important city his interest next in vividness is in the affairs of his own town. Compared with the nation or with the city, the geographical lines of the state are

relatively vague and accidental. State elections are frequently determined not so much on their own basis as according to some sweep in the tides of national political feeling. This was conspicuously true of the state elections held last fall. It remains true, nevertheless, that under our theory of government the state is the original source of sovereign power. The federal government started out with such powers as were granted by the states. Cities derive their authority also from the state government and hold them under a weak and uncertain tenure.

The New York transit commission is made up of men of considerable experience and ability. They have before them a complicated task, and their work will be followed with interest in every part of the country.

A NEW CIVIC ARMY

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MEETS IN CLEVELAND

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS

The National League of Women Voters, a new, big, dynamic organization with vision and a fixed purpose to improve things. We are glad you're here. :: :: :: :: :: ::

FOR about thirty years we civilians have wallowed and touselled around in the jungle and mire of slovenly politics, accomplishing much, so much that when we turned and looked back twenty-five years through the pages of Mr. Woodruff's valedictory we were astonished at the progress we had made.

Yet after thirty years, what are we?

Three thousand, out of a hundred million, in the National Municipal League, and perhaps fifty thousand feebly connected with us in various local municipal leagues, voters' associations, city clubs and the civic commit-

tees of sundry chambers of commerce! A civic army that wins incessant indirect victories by the simple expedient of occasionally thinking a political reform idea all the way through until the idea is so technically solid that it can withstand the merciless hammering of our own debates, whereafter it easily serves other less informed discussions outside and moves serenely to eventual installation because it is right and does not rot with delay! A civic army that never was big enough or widely enough understood to assume the proportions of a crusade! Indeed our effort has often been an effort to be even visible!

THE N. M. L. SAYS WELCOME

And yesterday there arose a clamor of new voices all around us in the jungle, friendly voices, myriads of them with authoritative competent leaders appearing calmly at our shoulders saying: "Yes, there are *two million* of us here, all organized in state and local divisions and drilled by decades of fighting for another cause that now is won. We are ready to turn and fight alongside you for the same objectives. Where are those ready-made and tested ideals of yours—in editions of 100,000 please?"

Can you wait a moment, ladies, till we catch our breath? And until we scratch up a little money? The ideals are here in stock, but some are in the form of unwritten orthodoxy, and others in the form of dull technical pamphlets, and others we are still happily quarrelling about as to items of important detail.

Two million of you? Being only three thousand ourselves, or fifty thousand, it would be impertinent of little us to say: "Welcome into the great scrimmage," but—we are glad you've come!

THE CLEVELAND MEETING

A new national organization in this country for civic ends, a real organization that is built up from localities to states and from states to a national center is a miracle. There have never been but two before—the Republican party and the Democratic party—all others were fragmentary like the Socialists, or temporary like the Progressives, or hopeless like the Committee of 48 which never seemed to see that our country is so vast as to defy real organization of rank-and-file citizens except under most dramatic and primitive impulses. The suffrage army of women was in many of the most populous

states elaborately and thoroughly organized with ramifications to almost every hamlet, efficiently captained and enthused with the scent of coming success. It would have been a crime to discard that great structure of mutual trust and understanding and solidarity the moment Tennessee ratified the amendment? The structure had cost too much and it was too precious for new purposes!

So at the 1919 convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at St. Louis there was organized the new section destined to bud off at the Chicago convention of 1920 as a separate organization, the League of Women Voters, the heir to the human warp and woof of the vast suffrage organization.

In April of this year, at Cleveland, this League of Women Voters met separately for the first time in a convention of 400 delegates with at least an equal number of official visitors. The newspapers called them a thousand. It was big anyway—the biggest assembly of out-of-town people that we have ever seen brought together for civic purposes in America.

In the list of resolutions that were passed at Cleveland are a number that are phases of feminism of which the League of Women Voters would indeed seem to be the logical promotees, others like disarmament that likewise lie outside the realm of the National Municipal League and few that fall directly in our field. But it appears abundantly that the resolutions give no complete picture of the convention. The *Woman Citizen*, their official organ, describes the convention in its first large headline as "A Challenge to Corrupt Politics"—you will not find that thought expressed at all in the resolutions. Our representatives at the convention (the two field directors, W. J. Millard and A. R. Hatton, and Miss Howe)

brought back the same impression of the convention's direction. And a significant action of the assemblage was the creation of a new department of government efficiency replacing a committee of election laws and method.

For one important session disarmament quite properly dominated civics. Will Irwin had pleaded powerfully for the ending of wars and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt who was scheduled to follow him on the program, with a paper on "Psychologies of Political Progress," discarded her prepared speech and spoke impromptu to the subject with an eloquence that stirred the assemblage to a deep solemnity and brought forth a dramatic response that took the shape of the world disarmament resolution.

Mrs. Catt presiding at one of the seven simultaneous conferences, where our Dr. Hatton and Albert S. Bard spoke, proved herself sound and at home in our field, urging the members to address themselves toward making democracy workable by direct primary, improved election practices, short ballot and proportional representation. Incidentally she gave her personal public endorsement of our League and made our booth a busy place thereafter. Her committee recommended that each State League call a small advisory meeting of men and women who are familiar with the need of reform in the fundamental law which applies to elections and the form of government, and from that meeting to proceed to a study primarily of the election law of the respective states. The second recommendation was that a conference on efficient government shall be held with experts to point out the strength and weaknesses of our present system and to recommend changes.

The fundamental object is to lead forward with the idea of getting the women of the country to support the

fundamental legislative changes when they are ready to be made.

Arrangements are already in effect to have Dr. Hatton and W. J. Millard at two of the League's state meetings, and further engagements are expected.

Other conferences dealt with social hygiene, uniform laws concerning women, food supply and demand, Americanization. A sense of definite triumph came when, a few hours after Mrs. Park, chairman of the convention, had described an interview with President Harding on behalf of the Sheppard-Towner bill protecting mothers and new-born babies, the news came of the presidential message strongly recommending the bill.

And then in an hour, when they had nothing else to do, they raised \$80,000 in responsible pledges for the coming year's expenses of the National Board!

The co-operation which we are expected to give covers first the preparations of a series of pamphlets in style and treatment for widespread educational use, covering the essential feature of the principal standard political reform projects and serves specific and technical help at those state conferences where the general ideas must be converted into specific measures of legislation suited to local conditions. At these state conferences men are to be welcome and in many of the states our local members can undoubtedly be very helpful especially in the technical work, and will find the League of Women Voters a powerful ally.

The National Municipal League has been for years a manufacturing plant with a good quality and small quantity of civic output—and no selling force on the road although recently we have begun to indulge in more propaganda and popularization of our material. And now comes this fresh new civic army of women, an organized army, armed abundantly with enthusiasm

and well aware of the enemy—and looking for ammunition!

SOME PLANKS IN THEIR PLATFORM

Opposing any weakening of the national prohibition law.

Indorsing the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infant care.

Indorsing the principle of physical education in schools, through state action with federal aid.

Asking for generous appropriations for the federal children's bureau.

Urging the enforcement of all child labor and school attendance laws.

Asking for a reclassification of the civil service on a merit basis, without discrimination against women.

Recommending an equal interest by husband and wife in each other's property, acquired after marriage.

Asking for direct citizenship for married women.

Opposing any attempt to repeal state direct primary laws, and in favor of making nominations more representative of the voters.

Urging each state to call a state conference of men and women to discuss ways and means of improving election machinery.

Indorsing the principle of protection of national parks and monuments and keeping them inviolate for the use and enjoyment of the people.

Indorsing the creation of a federal department of public welfare and urging the appointment as head of the department of a woman who is an expert on social problems.

Recommending the regulation by congress of the meat-packing industry.

Disarmament.

WHAT A TESTING LABORATORY MEANS TO A CITY GOVERNMENT

BY GEOFFREY A. GRAY

Director, Cincinnati Bureau of City Tests

By means of a testing laboratory a city is enabled to buy not coal at so much a ton, but heat at so much per unit. A testing laboratory also yields social as well as economic returns. :: :: ::

DURING the last decade, following the example of the larger industrial corporations, many cities have put into effect modern methods for the purchase of supplies, superseding the wasteful and extravagant method of allowing each department to obtain its own supplies independently and without control. Central purchasing agencies were established through which all supplies for all departments are bought. The chief duty of these agencies is to standardize specifications for items of general use and to purchase them in

such quantities and qualities as may be most economical and suitable. The first attempts at standardization revealed the necessity for research examinations before quality standards could be set up; at the same time the importance of testing deliveries of goods, to insure their compliance with completed specifications, was recognized. The testing laboratory was established to meet these needs.

It is difficult to make direct valuations, even of tangible things, so in attempting an appraisal of the work of a mu-

municipal laboratory let us rather compare it with the work of industrial laboratories, taking some account of the conditions which brought them into existence and influenced their development.

LABORATORIES IN INDUSTRY

Fifty years ago the chief concern of American industry was expansion. Nature had provided a seemingly inexhaustible supply of raw materials and this, with native American ingenuity in adapting machines to the work in hand, enabled the American manufacturer to compete successfully in world markets, although he used most extravagant and wasteful methods. But with expansion of industry came increased competition and higher standards of living; the manufacturer began to realize that the supply of cheap, high grade materials was becoming depleted and at the same time was confronted with ever increasing demands for higher wages; further, the development of the arts and sciences was creating new demands for specialized products suitable for use under peculiar and difficult conditions. Requiring more exact and intimate knowledge of its products, and development of more efficient manufacturing methods, to meet these conditions, industry turned more and more to science for help in solving its problems. Engineering had long before been at work on the purely mechanical problems involved, and indeed was the foundation of all progress already made. Chemistry could, and did furnish solutions for some of the problems in its field, but in these earlier days, when first confronted with problems of method and utilization, had not reached the point where it could render the full assistance it was able to give. It had advanced in theory but had had little concern for the practical application of its

discoveries. On the other hand, those industries using true chemical methods were largely following empirical rules, and little was known of the true nature of the changes involved. With such conditions it was inevitable that general acceptance and appreciation of the value of chemistry to industry should be slow in developing. The earlier industrial laboratories were established largely because of the increasing need for examination and control of the quality of materials; this because of the depletion of supplies of the highest grades of raw materials and the more precise and careful specifications which were being written.

As chemistry turned more and more to the investigation of industrial problems, and succeeded in developing better manufacturing processes and new uses for waste products, many laboratories came to have another function, that of controlling the processes themselves. Maximum production or specific qualities can be had in many cases only by exercise of most careful control over raw materials and the conditions surrounding their treatment; thus, in the production of iron, the proportions of fuel, ore and flux charged into the blast furnace are determined by the analysis of each lot of these materials, which, even with this control, must conform to precise specifications. Later, in converting crude iron from the blast furnace into other grades, the processes are interrupted at certain points while the laboratory determines whether the treatment is proceeding properly.

Still a third function came to be given the laboratories of the most progressive industries as the value of the services of chemistry was better appreciated. This function, commonly called research, is the detailed study and investigation of all possible raw materials, processes and products of

the industry with the object of determining the most efficient and practical direction for its operation and development.

THE MUNICIPAL LABORATORY

So we find industrial laboratories having three functions, first the checking of qualities of materials, second the control of manufacturing processes, and third the development of new processes, products and uses. The municipal laboratory has these same functions, modified somewhat to meet the peculiar needs of the cities. Like the earlier industrial laboratories it was established to complement the work of the purchasing department by supplying data for formulating specifications and insuring compliance of deliveries with specifications. Its work in this field covers a much wider range and is much more irregular than that of most industrial laboratories, whose work is usually confined to comparatively few products and can be well organized and systematized as the number of samples of each kind is fairly constant. The conditions obtaining in the city laboratory are quite different; the materials to be examined are of the most varied nature and are submitted for the most part without any regularity of time or number.

THE WORK OF ONE LABORATORY

The following brief outline of some of the work of one city laboratory in this field will serve to give an idea of the importance and extent of its usefulness in this direction. Among the products tested by this laboratory are oils of all sorts, lubricating, road oils, etc., paints and paint materials, soaps, blankets, graphite, butter substitutes, fire hose, brass, fertilizer, insecticides, etc.

One of the largest items in municipal purchases is coal; the establishment of a purchasing department and a testing laboratory made it possible to buy this commodity on a scientific basis; the city now buys not coal but heat; dealers wishing to furnish coal submit with their bids guarantees of the heat value and ash content of the coal to be furnished; the price is computed in heat units per ton and the dealer is paid on this basis, the value being determined by analysis of samples drawn from each delivery; he is further penalized or rewarded as the coal contains more or less ash than he guarantees. An additional correction can be made for moisture when the coal is weighed while wet. The introduction of this system has not only effected a marked saving to the city, but in addition better grades of coal are furnished, as a rule.

Though the gas consumed by the city itself may be a very minor item, the aggregate used by private citizens is great and its quality is provided for in ordinances and franchises; regular examinations are made to determine whether it conforms to these standards.

A very pure and soft lead is required for calking joints in water mains and difficulty is had at times in securing supplies of the proper quality; acid for storage batteries must be free from certain common impurities or it will quickly ruin expensive batteries; the efficient service of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of machinery operated by the city depends directly on the quality of the lubricating oil used. Laboratory examination of all these products does more than insure their compliance with specifications; it prevents loss and damage through use of unfit materials.

Municipalities are not usually considered as manufacturers, but actually come within this class; streets, sewers,

bridges, buildings, all are manufactured by the city itself or under its direct control and supervision. Careful control of materials and their preparation is essential to enduring products of this kind and the work of the municipal laboratory in this field is strictly comparable with that of the industrial laboratory, even to the point of examining materials in process of manufacture. Thus from time to time samples are drawn from asphalt paving before it is laid to insure that its mixing and preparation have been properly completed.

While this function of the laboratory in testing materials of construction may seem to be merely an extension of its work in examining all supplies, its importance gives it claim to separate consideration. The exclusion of improper or unfit materials from permanent works or improvements is, in most cases, vastly more important than securing supplies of specified qualities for immediate consumption. The need for this examination at the point where the material is to be used is well illustrated by the following case. In the routine testing of all construction materials, a carload of cement, from a reputable mill, which had been tested at the mill and certified to the dealer as conforming to standard specifications by a laboratory of national reputation, was found to be unsound and rejected. It would seem impossible for such material to leave a reputable mill under such conditions, but the fact that the mistake was made emphasizes the necessity for constant vigilance. Again the nature of the iron and steel used in underground work is of the greatest importance in providing against electrolytic corrosion; examination of some of the materials supplied for a new water system showed them to be entirely unfit for their intended use; had they not been detected they would un-

doubtedly have been a serious menace to the entire system.

A BETTER CITY TO LIVE IN

We have already spoken of the necessity for laboratory investigations to assist in the proper formulation of specifications, but this is not the only direction in which research is carried on by the municipal laboratory. With the co-operation of the other city departments its field is very broad. Problems of many kinds arise from time to time requiring more or less extensive investigation for their solution. A few examples of work of this kind, carried out in a municipal laboratory, will illustrate the possibilities of its usefulness in this direction.

A study was made of atmospheric pollution in connection with the smoke nuisance. It is true that standards have been established for determining the density of smoke leaving stacks and these are, without question, of great general importance and value. But local conditions, topography, climate, etc., have much to do with determining whether a given amount of smoke will be sufficient to constitute a nuisance. A great deal of work, extending over a long period, was done in co-operation with the department interested, in determining the true conditions in different parts of the city.

An investigation of the gas supply revealed the cause of frequent and destructive explosions; as a result the gas company was required to install new apparatus to correct the faulty condition.

A study of garbage collections was made for the purpose of gathering data to be used in considering new plans for its disposal. Investigations were made of local deposits of stone and sand to determine their fitness for use in construction projects.

Such, then, is the work of the municipal testing laboratory. It insures that the supplies furnished the city will be of the quality specified; that unsound and unfit materials will not find their way into the city's construction

projects; it provides the means for research on many of the problems met by the city departments. It is as necessary to the efficient city government as is its laboratory to the efficient industry.

TOWARDS SIMPLIFIED STATE GOVERNMENT

I. BETTER STATE GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON

BY LOUIS F. HART

Governor of Washington

Ohio and Washington have set their house in order by adopting codes greatly improving their administrative organizations. These represent a big advance in popular government. :: :: :: :: ::

In the state of Washington we have some seventy-five or eighty boards, commissions and institutions, under the jurisdiction of the governor and directly or indirectly reporting to him. There various boards, commissions, institutions and individual appointive officers numbered some two hundred and ten individuals, with each board, commission, institution and office trying to operate alone and frequently in competition rather than in co-operation with other agencies.

In addition to these we had *ex-officio* boards and commissions until we scarcely had one which was not duplicating the efforts and work of one or more of the others. It was almost impossible to tell where or by whom a thing should be done; who was responsible for it or to whom, if anyone, he was responsible. In some cases members of boards and commissions had openly gone to members of the legislature and lobbied for measures for their own particular benefit. Frequently such persons considered themselves wholly without the control or disciplinary power of the chief executive.

NEW CODE ADOPTED

In September of 1919 I began gathering data relative to administrative reorganization in other states, and through trained and confidential appointees I gathered all the information possible regarding the administrative code of Illinois, Nebraska, Massachusetts and Idaho, as well as a large amount of literature from various writers upon this subject.

After a careful study of this material I began a mild propaganda through the press looking to the co-ordination of governmental functions and a co-operation of governmental departments. So quickly did our people take to this matter, that at the state convention of my party in May, 1920, a strong plank endorsing and pledging the party to an administrative code was adopted without opposition. With the assistance of one of the best trained men in administrative affairs in the state and the attorney-general and a corps of stenographers, we began work more than a year ago drafting the civil administrative code, the enactment of

which I urged in my message. With four very slight amendments changing the verbiage, but with scarcely any change in substance, the code passed with eight negative votes in both houses. This code combines the seventy odd boards, commissions and institutions into ten departments, with a director appointed by the governor as the head of each department. The several departments are known as

1. Public Works.
2. Business Control.
3. Efficiency.
4. Taxation and Examination.
5. Health.
6. Conservation and Development.
7. Labor and Industries.
8. Agriculture.
9. Licenses.
10. Fisheries and Game.

The several departments are divided into divisions, each in charge of a supervisor appointed by the director. The supervisor appoints the employees in his division.

Each supervisor is held responsible for the work of his division by the director of his department, and the governor holds responsible each director for the work of his department.

ECONOMIES BEGIN AT ONCE

This bill passed the legislature with an emergency section and went into effect on the first day of April. As yet we cannot give any positive evidence of the success of the code. In one department employing about one hundred and thirty persons under the various commissions therein combined, we have dropped from the payroll about fifty people, and it appears that the work is going to be better done than heretofore.

Aside from putting the affairs of the state on a purely business rather than a political basis, I might point out the

following as perhaps the salient features of the code.

A department of efficiency was created with power to inspect, examine and supervise all public offices of the state, as well as all educational, penal, benevolent, and reformatory institutions and all departments of the state government; to make efficiency surveys and examine into the physical needs and industrial activities and to make confidential reports to the governor recommending betterments. This department is also to make cost findings of the several farming and industrial operations of state institutions and property surveys of all state departments and institutions, and to install systems of property accounting. It is particularly to recommend a system of classification of salaries and compensation of subordinate offices and employees of the state. In the department of business control we have a division of purchases through which everything needed by the state is purchased.

The ten directors with the governor as chairman constitute the administrative board, the functions of which are to systematize and unify the administrative duties of the various departments, classify employees with reference to efficiency and compensation, and advise with the governor in the matter of governmental policies.

At the first meeting of our administrative board it was resolved to set aside as a reserve for each department 15 per cent of the total appropriations made by the legislature, excepting those for capital outlays and statutory compensation, no part of which could be expended by any department without an affirmative vote of the majority of the administrative board. Through this means we expect to return to the treasury, at the end of this biennium, \$1,500,000, a sum just about equal to the amount of the deficiency appropria-

tion the recent legislature was required to make to carry the state through the biennium just closed.

THE GOVERNOR RELEASED FOR MAJOR DUTIES

Formerly fully one-half of my time was taken up with detail matters that are now handled by clerks in the vari-

ous departments, and I am free to devote my time to a general supervision of the state's business. I can look after its numerous charitable, penal, educational and eleemosynary institutions, its highways and other interests, and have some time to devote to governmental policies. Although our experience with the code has been brief, we are very sanguine of its success.

II. OHIO REORGANIZES

BY D. C. SOWERS

Director, Akron Bureau of Municipal Research

Two years ago the Ohio legislature created a joint legislative committee to investigate the various state departments with the view to effecting such a reorganization of the government's activities as would promote greater economy and efficiency. This committee appointed a corps of specialists in governmental reorganization, which prepared and submitted detailed reports covering the forty-nine offices, boards and commissions and made recommendations for radical changes in the state's organization and a reduction in the number of independent boards and commissions. The Akron Bureau of Municipal Research was placed in charge of the reorganization study, and assistance was secured from the Institute for Public Service, New York city, and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

This corps recommended making the offices of secretary of state, treasurer and attorney-general appointive and lengthening the term of governor and lieutenant-governor from two to four years. These changes required constitutional amendments and were not incorporated in the reorganization bill as it was finally enacted. It was also recommended that the auditor be charged not only with the auditing

function with respect to accuracy and legality of financial records, but in addition, be charged with the duty of ascertaining the wisdom, economy and effectiveness of expenditures and thereby constitute a continuing check upon the administrative organization. This feature was also not incorporated in the final bill. The governmental experts also recommended the retention of boards for the health department, industrial commission, public utilities commission and the department of education. A state board of welfare was recommended without administrative powers but with the responsibility for investigating and reporting upon the state's welfare activities.

The administrative reorganization bill was introduced in the house February 24 and passed as an emergency measure on March 17. The bill passed the senate with certain amendments as an emergency bill April 7. The house has agreed to the senate amendments and bill has been signed by the governor. The bill provides that the reorganization scheme shall go into effect at the commencement of the succeeding fiscal year, viz., July 1, 1921.

The opponents of the reorganization bill are attacking the emergency feature of the measure, and it is said will en-

deavor to secure a referendum upon it. It is questionable whether this can be accomplished since the state constitution provides that "laws providing for tax levies, appropriations for current expenses and emergency laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, shall go into immediate effect and shall not be subject to a referendum."

ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

The following administrative departments are created: department of finance, commerce, highways and public works, agriculture, health, industrial relations, education and public welfare. The director of each department is appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and holds office during the pleasure of the governor. The bill creates bureaus within the several departments, but provides that the director of the department shall have authority to consolidate any two or more of the bureaus created in his department, reduce the number of or create new divisions therein.

The qualifications for directors are meager. The director of commerce and superintendent of insurance must not have any official connection with an insurance company, and the chief of the division of examination and licensing in the department of education shall not be affiliated with any college or school of medicine or of pharmacy, dentistry, nursing, optometry, and embalming, either as teacher, officer or stockholder; the superintendent of highways must be a civil engineer of at least five years' experience in construction and maintenance of highways; the director of agriculture must be a person actively identified with agriculture; and the director of health must be a physician skilled in sanitary science.

The bill fixes the salaries of directors at \$6,500 and the salaries of bureau heads range from \$2,500 to \$5,000.

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

The department of finance is given full power to exercise control over the financial transactions of all state departments and is charged with the responsibility of the preparation of the budget. A superintendent of budget is provided for in this department and a central purchasing department is established here under a superintendent of purchases and printing. The tax commission is made a part of the department of finance for administrative purposes; the director of finance is *ex-officio* secretary of the commission and the tax commission has supervision and control over such employes as the governor may designate.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The activities of the inspector of building and loan associations, the state fire marshal, the superintendent of insurance, the commissioner of securities and the superintendent of banks are co-ordinated into a department of commerce. The superintendent of banks, however, is to be appointed by the governor instead of by the director of commerce. The public utilities commission is also made a part of this department for administrative purposes.

DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS AND PUBLIC WORKS

The department of highways and public works is composed of a superintendent of highways and public works who acts as director of the department, a state architect and engineer, and a state highway engineer. This department has supervision over the con-

struction and maintenance of all public buildings and public works. The management of buildings of educational institutions and the property and supplies under the control of the adjutant-general are not subject to the jurisdiction of this department.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

The administrative code makes the commissioner of health a direct appointee of the governor instead of being appointed by the public health council. The registration of vital statistics was transferred from the office of secretary of state to the health department. The public health council is retained for the purpose of passing rules and regulations relating to health matters.

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

This department is given control over the administrative work now performed by the industrial commission, but the industrial commission is to be retained and exercise certain powers and duties specified in the law.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

This department is headed by a director appointed by the governor, and in addition the following boards and commissions are attached to the department for administrative purposes: the state board of accountancy, medical board, nurses' examining committee, board of optometry, board of pharmacy, dental board and board of embalming examiners, will continue to exercise their functions as heretofore with the provision that they may delegate any powers or duties now exercised to the department of education, and the department is required to recommend standards as to preliminary education, methods of conducting examinations and methods of enforcing the laws.

An advisory board of three members appointed by the governor is attached to the department of education to be known as the advisory board of film censorship.

A state board of vocational education is established in the department of education to be composed of the directors of education, commerce, agriculture, industrial relations and finance.

The director of education shall be *ex-officio* member of the board of trustees of the two normal schools and the Ohio State University with power to speak but not to vote therein. He is also member of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

A state library board is also created in the department of education to be composed of the director of education as chairman and four other members appointed by the governor.

DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

This department takes over the duties now exercised by the Ohio board of administration, board of state charities, and the board of clemency. A board of pardon and parole is provided for within this department consisting of the superintendent of pardon and parole and two other persons within the department who shall be designated by the director of public welfare. For administrative purposes, the Ohio commission for the blind is made a part of the department of public welfare.

CIVIL SERVICE

Each department is empowered to employ, subject to the civil service laws, the necessary employes and to fix their compensation. Each officer and employe in the classified civil service at the time this act takes effect shall be assigned to a position in the proper department created by the act.

CITY MANAGER MOVEMENT

THE LIST OF CITY MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

BY HARRISON GRAY OTIS

IN the REVIEW for April, 1920, was published a list of all municipalities in this country and Canada that were reported to be operating under, or pledged to, some variety of the city-manager plan. The total number was recorded as 181, of which 177 were in the United States. In turn, 113 of the 177 were duly reported to have established the plan by adopting charter or charter amendments in accord with the generally accepted standards of commission-manager government; 9 to have secured modified manager government by the same methods, and 55 to have created the office of manager by local ordinance only. These figures, in the main, have proved to be correct, for that time. Corresponding figures compiled on the first of May, 1921, show a total of 229,—6 in Canada and 223 in the States. Of the 223, 152 are considered standard, 7 modified charter and 64 ordinance-created. The total net gain appears to be 42, or better than 23 per cent. Here is a chance for prognosticators to compute the time it will require for the manager plan to spread to all of our cities.

There is a fair chance that within the next twelve months, the city-manager plan will outstrip the older commission

form. Already some forty cities have advanced from the commission class to the manager list. Perhaps equally interesting is the action taken by several cities in adopting standard commission-manager charters after experimenting with the ordinance-made plan. Among the recent converts to "whole-way" methods are Staunton, Virginia, the patriarch of the manager clan, which employed a general manager by ordinance from January, 1908, to September, 1920, when a modern charter was adopted; Glendale, California, after seven years of the ordinance plan; Alliance, Nebraska and West Hartford, Connecticut, whose citizens required less than a year to learn that the manager plan by ordinance is good, but not good enough.

The following list has been compiled for publication in the seventh yearbook of the City Managers' Association. In the column headed "Plan," the letter "C" indicates that the manager plan has been adopted by charter, charter amendment or state optional law by referendum; "C—" implies that some of the usual features of the plan are lacking; while "o" stands for "ordinance only." Additions and corrections to this list will be deeply appreciated.

CITY-MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

CORRECTED TO MAY 25, 1921

State	City	1920 Population	Plan	In Effect	Manager
Arizona	Phoenix	29,053	C	Apr., 1914	V. A. Thompson
Arkansas	Bentonville	2,313	o	Sept., 1915	Frank P. Harris
	Monticello	2,378	o	Jan., 1918	C. C. Remley
California	Alameda	28,806	C	May, 1917	Charles E. Hewes
	Alhambra	9,096	C-	July, 1915	Grant M. Lorraine
	Anaheim	5,526	o	Nov., 1919	O. E. Steward
	Avalon	586	o	Sept., 1919	A. B. Waddingham
	Bakersfield	18,638	C	Apr., 1915	F. S. Benson
	Coronado	3,289	o	Jan., 1920	G. F. Hyatt
	Fillmore	1,298	o	Oct., 1918	C. Arrasmith
	Glendale	13,536	C	July, 1921	T. W. Watson
			(o	May, 1914)	
	Long Beach	55,593	C	July, 1921	
	Martinez	3,858	o	Mar., 1920	B. A. Green
	Pasadena	45,354	C	May, 1921	C. W. Koiner
	Paso Robles	1,919	o	Apr., 1918	William Ryan
	Pittsburg	4,715	o	Sept., 1919	R. M. Dorion
	Redding	2,912	o	Oct., 1918	E. A. Rolison
	Richmond	16,843	o	July, 1920	J. A. McVittie
	Sacramento	65,857	C	July, 1921	Clyde L. Seavy
	San Diego	74,683	o	May, 1915	F. A. Rhodes
	San Jose	39,604	C	July, 1916	C. B. Goodwin
	Santa Barbara	19,441	o	Jan., 1918	Fred. L. Johnston
	So. Pasadena	7,648	o	Mar., 1920	R. V. Orbison
Colorado	Boulder	10,989	C	Jan., 1918	Scott Mitchell
	Colorado Springs	29,572	C	Apr., 1921	
	Durango	4,416	C	Mar., 1915	W. H. Wigglesworth
	Montrose	3,581	C	Feb., 1914	J. E. McDaniel (act'g.)
Connecticut	W. Hartford	8,854	C	Apr., 1921	B. I. Miller
			(o	July, 1919)	
Florida	Largo	599	o	June, 1919	W. H. Turner
	New Smyrna	2,007	o	Jan., 1921	W. R. Patton
	Ocala	4,914	C	Feb., 1918	L. B. M. Kenzie
	Punta Gorda	1,295	C	July, 1921	
	St. Augustine	6,192	o	July, 1915	Eugene Masters
	Sanford	5,588	C	Jan., 1920	C. J. Ryan
	Tallahassee	5,637	C	Feb., 1920	J. W. Greer
	Tampa	51,252	C	Jan., 1921	A. W. D. Hall
Georgia	W. Palm Beach	8,659	C	Dec., 1919	Karl Riddle
	Brunswick	14,413	C	Jan., 1921	W. N. Gramling
	Cartersville	4,350	C-	Aug., 1917	Abram Cook
	Decatur	6,150	o	Jan., 1921	P. P. Filcher
	Giffin	8,240	o	Dec., 1918	E. P. Bridges
	Rome	13,252	C	Apr., 1919	Sam S. King
	Tifton	3,000	C	Jan., 1921	W. T. Hargrett
Illinois	Glencoe	3,295	o	Jan., 1914	H. H. Sherer
	Kenilworth	1,188	o	Sept., 1920	F. L. Streed
	Wilmette	7,814	o	Oct., 1918	C. C. Schultz
	Winnetka	6,694	o	Jan., 1915	H. L. Woolhiser
Iowa	Clarinda	4,511	o	Apr., 1913	Henry Traxler
	Dubuque	39,141	C	June, 1920	O. E. Carr
	Estherville	4,699	o	May, 1919	F. G. Connelly
	Iowa Falls	3,954	o	May, 1914	J. O. Gregg
	Manchester	3,111	o	May, 1916	Thomas Wilson
	Maquoketa	3,626	o	June, 1920	Guy O. Morse
	Mt. Pleasant	3,987	o	Apr., 1916	T. W. McMillan
	Villisca	2,111	o	May, 1919	W. J. Oviatt
	Webster City	5,657	C	Oct., 1916	G. J. Long
	West Liberty	1,834	o	Apr., 1920	C. J. Mackey
Kansas	Atchison	12,630	C	Apr., 1921	Bert C. Wells
	Belleville	2,500	o	Apr., 1921	W. M. Slopansky
	El Dorado	10,995	C	July, 1917	J. E. Caton
	Hays	3,165	o	May, 1919	A. W. Seng
	Kinsley	1,885	o	Apr., 1922	
	McCracken	491	C	May, 1919	L. L. Ryan
	Salina	15,085	C	Apr., 1921	Fred W. Sefton
	Stockton	1,324	C	Apr., 1921	
	Wichita	72,217	C	Apr., 1917	Earl C. Elliott
	Winfield	7,933	C	Apr., 1921	W. J. Welfelt
Kentucky	Cynthiana	3,857	o	Dec., 1915	J. J. Curle
	Harrodsburg	3,765	o	Jan., 1921	L. M. VanArsdale
Louisiana	Crowley	6,108	o	Sept., 1920	J. O. Herpin
Maine	Auburn	16,985	C	Jan., 1918	H. J. Cook
Massachusetts	Mansfield	6,255	C	Feb., 1921	E. R. Conant
	Middleboro	8,543	C	Feb., 1921	Harry J. Goodale
	Norwood	12,627	C-	Jan., 1915	Wm. P. Hammersley
	Waltham	30,891	C	Jan., 1918	Henry F. Beal
Michigan	Albion	8,354	C	Jan., 1918	E. J. Mallory
	Alma	7,542	C	May, 1919	W. E. Reynolds

CITY-MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

CORRECTED TO MAY 25, 1921

State	City	1920 Population	Plan	In Effect	Manager
Michigan	Alpena	11,101	C	Apr., 1916	W. E. Baumgardner
	Bay City	47,554	C	Apr., 1921	H. W. Stickle
	Big Rapids	4,558	C	Apr., 1914	Dan. H. Vincent
	Birmingham	3,694	C	Apr., 1913	Wm. H. Brown
	Cadillac	9,734	C	Mar., 1914	Geo. Johnston
	Crystal Falls	3,394	C	Apr., 1913	J. H. Sanders
	Easton Rapids	2,379	C	Oct., 1913	P. T. Mitchell
	Grand Haven	7,224	C	Apr., 1915	Paul R. Taylor
	Grand Rapids	137,634	C	Mar., 1917	Fred H. Locke
	Grosse Pte. Shores	400	C	June, 1916	Clyde Hum
	Jackson	48,374	C	Jan., 1915	Edward C. Meyfarth
	Kalamazoo	48,487	C	June, 1918	Harry H. Freeman
	Lapeer	4,723	C	May, 1919	Charles Hubbard
	Manistee	9,690	C	May, 1914	John Shields (acting)
	Mt. Pleasant	4,819	C	Mar., 1921	Carl H. Peterson
	Muskegon	36,570	C	Jan., 1920	I. R. Ellison
	Otsego	3,168	C	May, 1918	O. G. Bacon
	Petoskey	5,064	C	Apr., 1916	J. Frank Quinn
	Plymouth	2,857	C	Dec., 1917	Sidney D. Strong
	Pontiac	34,273	C	Nov., 1920	Irving C. Brower
	Portland	1,899	C	Jan., 1919	F. L. Jenkins
	Royal Oak	6,007	C	May, 1918	P. H. Beauvais
	St. Johns	3,925	C	Aug., 1918	T. H. Townsend
	Sault Ste. Marie	12,096	C	Dec., 1917	Henry A. Sherman
	Sturgis	5,995	C	Apr., 1921	Ralph D. Ballew
	Three Rivers	5,209	C	Apr., 1918	O. O. Johnson
	Vicksburg	1,946	C	Oct., 1920	Thomas E. Cloney
Minnesota	Anoka	4,287	C	Apr., 1914	Henry Lee
	Morris	2,320	C	Jan., 1914	Frank J. Haight
Missouri	Pipestone	3,325	C	May, 1917	V. H. Sprague
	Maryville	4,711	C	Apr., 1919	F. P. Robinson
Montana	Columbus	987	C	Nov., 1918	Harry P. Schug
	Glasgow	2,059	C	July, 1916	Harvey Booth
Nebraska	Scobey	1,170	C	Jan., 1920	Roy N. Stewart
	Alliance	4,591	C	Apr., 1912	N. A. Kemmish
New Mexico	Albuquerque	15,157	C	Aug., 1919)	James N. Gladding
	Clovis	4,904	C	Jan., 1918	Oscar Dobbs
	Roswell	7,062	C	June, 1919	Clyde Fulton
New York	Auburn	36,142	C	May, 1914	John P. Jaeckel
	Newburgh	30,272	C	Jan., 1920	John P. McKay
	Niagara Falls	50,760	C	Jan., 1916	Edwin J. Fort
	Sherrill	1,761	C	Jan., 1916	W. J. Northway
	Watertown	31,263	C	Jan., 1920	C. A. Bingham
	Watervliet	16,073	C	Jan., 1920	Henry E. Gabriels
North Carolina	Durham	21,719	C	May, 1921	H. W. Kueffner
	Elizabeth City	8,925	C	Apr., 1915	J. C. Commander
	Gastonia	12,871	C	Aug., 1919	W. J. Alexander
	Goldsboro	11,296	C	July, 1917	W. M. Rich
	Greensboro	19,748	C	May, 1921	G. W. Brooks
	Hendersonville	3,720	C	July, 1920	E. G. Henry
	Hickory	5,076	C	May, 1913	R. L. Pickett
	High Point	11,302	C	May, 1915	E. L. Pickett
	Morehead City	2,958	C	June, 1916	John S. Bennett
	Morganton	2,867	C	May, 1913	R. C. Claywell
	Thomasville	5,676	C	May, 1915	T. F. Harris
Ohio	Akron	208,435	C	Jan., 1920	W. J. Laub
	Ashtabula	32,082	C	Jan., 1916	M. H. Turner
	Dayton	152,559	C	Jan., 1914	Wm. C. Barber
	E. Cleveland	27,292	C	Jan., 1918	C. M. Osborn
	Gallipolis	6,070	C	Jan., 1918	Edward E. Myers
	Lima	41,306	C	Jan., 1922	Kenyon Riddle
	Middletown	23,594	C	Jan., 1921	T. B. Wyman
	Painesville	6,886	C	Jan., 1920	Geo. M. Zimmerman
	Sandusky	22,897	C	Jan., 1916	P. H. Cheney
	S. Charleston	1,267	C	Jan., 1918	Edgar E. Parsons
	Springfield	60,840	C	Jan., 1914	R. W. Orebaugh
	Westerville	2,480	C	Jan., 1918	T. H. Zell (act'g.)
Oklahoma	Xenia	9,110	C	Jan., 1918	T. H. Zell (act'g.)
	Ardmore	14,181	C	May, 1921	John D. Bomford
	Cherokee	2,017	C	Oct., 1920	J. W. Carter
	Coalgate	3,009	C	July, 1914	H. P. Hampton
	Collinsville	3,801	C	Feb., 1914	J. F. Ewell
	Duncan	3,463	C	Nov., 1920	J. A. Richardson
	Erick	971	C	June, 1920	J. A. Richardson
	Lawton	8,930	C	Apr., 1921	Burr Wright
	Madill	2,717	C	Nov., 1917	R. B. Snell
	Mangum	3,405	C	Nov., 1914	E. M. Fry
	McAlester	12,695	C	Nov., 1919	E. M. Fry

CITY-MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

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State	City	1920 Population	Plan	In Effect	Manager
Oklahoma	Muskogee	30,277	C	Apr., 1920	R. P. Harrison
	Norman	5,004	C	Sept., 1919	W. R. Gater
	Nowata	4,471	C	May, 1920	Jas. C. Manning
	Pawhuska	8,414	C	Apr., 1921	R. L. Plunkett
	Ponca City	7,051	o	Feb., 1921	Hugh Johnson
	Sallisaw	2,255	C	Nov., 1919	Fred E. Johnston
	Walters	3,032	C	Sept., 1919	W. B. Anthony
	Weatherford	1,929	o	Aug., 1917	G. A. Critchfield
	La Grande	6,913	C	Oct., 1913	George Garrett
	Altونا	60,331	o	Jan., 1918	H. Gordon Hinkle
Oregon	Carlisle	10,916	o	May, 1921	H. D. Herbert
Pennsylvania	Edgeworth	1,373	o	Jan., 1914	Robert Lloyd
	Jersey Shore	6,103	o	Feb., 1921	C. C. Thurman
	Mifflinburg	1,744	o	Jan., 1919	W. D. Kochersperger
	Osborne	358	o	Jan., 1921	Robert Lloyd
	Sewickley	4,955	o	Oct., 1918	John C. Hiteshew
	Towanda	4,260	o	Apr., 1918	W. T. Howie
	Beaufort	2,831	C	May, 1915	John Collier
			(o	Jan., 1915)	
	Rock Hill	8,809	C	Feb., 1915	W. P. Goodman
	Sumter	9,503	C	Jan., 1913	S. O'Quinn
South Dakota	Clark	1,392	C	May, 1912	J. E. Smith
	Rapid City	5,777	C	May, 1921	
	Alcoa	3,358	C	July, 1919	V. J. Hultquist
Tennessee	Kingsport	5,692	C	Mar., 1917	L. Herbert Kidd
	Murfreesboro	5,367	C	Oct., 1920	R. E. Lowe
	Nashville	118,342	C	Apr., 1921	Felix Z. Wilson
	Amarillo	15,494	C	Dec., 1913	J. G. Colby
	Beaumont	40,422	C	Apr., 1920	Geo. J. Roark
	Brownsville	11,791	C	Jan., 1915	George Grupe
	Bryan	8,295	C	May, 1917	E. E. McAdams
	Denton	7,626	C	Apr., 1914	H. V. Hennen
	Eastland	9,368	C	Jan., 1919	Walter Lander
	Electra	4,744	o	May, 1919	E. D. Kelley
Texas	Lubbock	4,051	o	Dec., 1917	Martin S. Ruby
	Lufkin	4,878	o	Apr., 1918	J. O. Booker
	Ranger	16,295	C	May, 1919	John M. Gholson
	San Angelo	10,060	C	June, 1916	R. H. Henderson
	Sherman	15,031	C	Apr., 1915	O. J. S. Ellingson
	Stamford	3,704	C	Mar., 1918	Homer D. Wade
	Taylor	5,965	C	Apr., 1914	A. V. Hyde
	Teague	3,306	o	Jan., 1915	C. E. Johnson
	Terrell	8,349	C	Aug., 1919	
	Tyler	12,085	C	Apr., 1915	Henry J. Graeser
	Yoakum	6,184	C	Apr., 1915	J. V. Lucas
	Brigham City	5,282	o	Feb., 1918	C. O. Roskelley
	St. Albans	7,582	C	Mar., 1921	A. B. Edwards
	Springfield	5,283	o	Apr., 1920	John B. Wright
	Bedford	3,243	o	Apr., 1920	C. T. Venable
	Blackstone	1,381	C	June, 1914	R. B. Stone
	Bristol	6,729	C	Sept., 1919	R. W. Rigby
	Charlottesville	10,688	o	Aug., 1913	Walter Washabaugh
	Farmville	2,583	o	Sept., 1915	Leslie Fogus
	Fredericksburg	5,832	o	Sept., 1912	L. J. Houston, Jr.
Virginia	Hampton	6,138	C	Sept., 1920	Geo. L. Rinkliff
	Lynchburg	29,956	C	Sept., 1920	E. A. Beck
	Newport News	35,596	C	Oct., 1920	L. G. Thom
	Norfolk	115,777	C	Sept., 1918	Chas. E. Ashburner
	Petersburg	31,002	C	Sept., 1920	Louis Brownlow
	Portsmouth	54,387	C	Jan., 1917	J. P. Jervey
	Radford	4,627	C	Sept., 1920	Paul J. B. Murphy
	Roanoke	50,842	C	Sept., 1918	W. P. Hunter
	Staunton	10,617	C	Sept., 1920	S. D. Holsinger
			(o	Jan., 1908)	
	Suffolk	9,123	C	Sept., 1919	R. H. Brinkley
	Warrenton	1,545	o	Mar., 1920	J. W. Shirley
	Winchester	6,883	o	May, 1916	Thos. J. Trier
	Charleston	39,608	C	May, 1915	Bonner H. Hill
	Clarksburg	27,869	C	Apr., 1921	John Ruhl (act'g.)
	Wheeling	54,322	C	July, 1917	Chas. O. Ephlin
Canada:					
	New Brunswick	3,856	o	June, 1919	R. F. Armstrong
	Ontario	10,770	C	Dec., 1921	
	Prov. Quebec	9,000	C	Mar., 1920	Henry Ortiz
		6,000	C	Mar., 1921	D. Hardy
	La Tuque	5,000	C	Mar., 1921	J. H. Valiquette
	Shawinigan Falls	14,579	C	Apr., 1913	Geo. W. Thompson

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING. By Francis Oakey, C. P. A. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1921. Pp. xxvii and 561.

This important contribution on the subject of governmental accounting and reporting is issued in the series of books on the principles of administration published by the Institute for Government Research. It is written by a man who has had broad experience in the accounting problems of municipal and state governments, as well as the federal government. It is a fundamental and, at the same time, a practical treatment of the subject. Besides, it is the best treatise so far written on the recording and reporting of governmental businesses. For these reasons, it deserves to be widely read. It is valuable not only to governmental accounting officers, but to executives as well. Its style and arrangement are such that it should interest members of city councils and state legislatures and the public in general.

The whole subject of accounting is handled from the viewpoint of reporting. The author defines accounting as "the science of producing promptly and presenting clearly the facts relating to financial conditions and operations that are required as a basis of management." In other words, the prime purpose of all governmental accounts and records is to produce information to aid the administrative officers in carrying on the work of government. The titles of a few of the twenty-eight chapters in the book are as follows: Funds and methods of funding; information needed regarding the financial condition of funds; detailed statements of the operations of funds; appropriations and information needed regarding their financial condition; information needed regarding financial condition of the government as a whole; the balance sheet; the surplus account; information needed regarding receipts; information needed regarding fixed property; information needed regarding stores; and information needed regarding funded debt and sinking funds.

One of the fundamental principles, perhaps the most important one, upon which the book is

based, is the elimination of the capital balance sheet. It is shown (p. 233) that, following a well-established commercial practice, the values of permanent properties have been included in a number of governmental balance sheets. The use of the capital balance sheet in governmental accounting, which is defined as the "comparison of the book values of permanent properties with the amount of outstanding bonded debt," it is maintained (p. 235) is "purposeless and meaningless." Cogent arguments are advanced in support of this position.

There are a few inconsistencies in the book which may be pointed out, not in any spirit of criticism of the excellency of the work as a whole, but rather because it has become more or less customary among reviewers, perhaps, to give proof that they have actually read the book! On page 33 the author states he avoids the use of the terms "general" and "special" as applied to funds because they are inexplicit, but later (e.g., pp. 44-46) he makes repeated use of these terms. In the classification of appropriations, on page 163, it would appear from the table that "revenue," "indefinite" and "determinate" appropriations are kinds of "definite recurrent" appropriations rather than classes of appropriations just as "definite current" and "definite recurrent" are. In making up this classification of appropriations, the author has apparently overlooked a sixth class of appropriations which may be called *contingent* appropriations. An example of such a class of appropriations is where a state legislature makes an appropriation to construct a bridge over a river that forms the boundary line with another state, the expenditure of which is contingent upon the legislature of the adjoining state appropriating an equal amount for the same purpose. On page 165, where the class of appropriations used in Wisconsin is referred to, the term "continuous" should read *continuing*.

The object classification of expenditures recommended on page 383 is open to rather serious criticisms. In recommending this classification, the author does not seem to have exercised his usual good judgment. It is verbatim a copy of

the one used by Virginia, which was copied largely from the Ohio classification. One of the main classes of this classification is "fixed charges, state grants and contributions." In the first place, "fixed charges" is regarded by the author as belonging to character rather than object classification (p. 338). In the second place, "payment of state debt" is placed under this class, which is regarded as capital outlays (p. 373). In the third place, "rent" and "insurance" are included under this class which are not "fixed charges," but current expenses (p. 372). There is another main class called "extraordinary expense," a title which is not only indefinite in meaning, but has no place in an object classification. "Supplies" and "materials" form separate classes in this classification, a distinction which is not a valid one since frequently materials become supplies through use. Another one of the main classes is "contractual services" (in the table on the page opposite it is called "services other than personal"), a term which is more or less confusing. It would seem better to break this class up into some four main groups; such as, communication and transportation; subsistence, care and support; printing, binding and advertising; and heat, light, power and water.

A. E. BUCK.



AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEAS. Charles Edward Merriam. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. 481.

The period of American history which Professor Merriam covers in this book is from the Civil War to the entrance of the United States

in the war with Germany. By contrast it seems to be a period of calm, both external and internal, as well as a period of great industrial development. It naturally follows that the political ideas developed would be influenced by the economic development.

Professor Merriam observes a tendency toward centralization in government as perhaps the most significant feature of the period. He calls attention to the protest against such issues as the initiative and referendum and the recall of judicial decisions at the time of the schism in the Republican party. He traces the protest against the evils of the convention plan and nominating system which began as early as the '60s and '70s.

The book is comprehensive and scholarly. His references are so copious that they make an excellent working bibliography.

One of the later chapters is entitled "Systematic Studies in Politics." It follows the development of the scientific study of politics both by organizations, individuals, societies and universities. Political ideas developed through the poetry and fiction of the period is included in the chapter on "Political Ideas in American Literature."

The author says in the preface that the purpose is "to trace the broad currents of American political thought in their relation to the social, economic and political tendencies of the time."

This volume by Professor Merriam follows chronologically his earlier one entitled "A History of American Political Theories," published in 1903. It dealt with the development of political thought down to the Civil War.

L. H.

II. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

The Board of Control of the State of Vermont has just issued a special report to the Vermont legislature in compliance with a resolution to investigate the finances and business methods of the state.

The report consists largely of financial tables and charts, setting forth the costs of the various state activities over a period of years. Table A is a comparative statement of the total state expenditures for the period 1901 to 1920. Expenditures are classified into thirteen main groups, as follows: highways, education, institutions, agriculture, health, conservation, general administration, legislature, judiciary, military purposes, debt service, extraordinary purposes

and miscellaneous purposes. This information is also shown graphically in a series of five charts.

The conclusion reached from this analysis is that there has been a rapid increase in the expenditures of the state, which is mainly due to an extension of state activities, increased cost of labor and supplies, and lack of effective budget and accounting control. Expenditures for highways are ten times what they were twenty years ago and four times what they were ten years ago. Expenditures for education have doubled in the last ten years. Public health expenditures are six times what they were in 1901. New activities which have been undertaken have been conserva-

tion of forests and wild life, regulation of banks and insurance, public utilities and administration of workmen's compensation. With the population practically at a standstill for the last twenty years, the per capita cost of state government has risen from \$2.60 to \$11.60.

In discussing the method of collecting and disbursing state funds, the report describes the improvements which have been made in the last two years in establishing a central accounting control over all state funds in the auditor's office. Annual examinations of the treasurer's and auditor's books are now made by competent accountants employed by the governor. The report recommends that a similar central control should be exercised over the revenue of the state by the auditor's office. At the present time, each department provides its own ways and means of collecting and checking the revenue and there is no standard method of central supervision for the collection of this revenue, which amounts to about three million dollars per year. Due to the practice of providing continuing appropriations and to special laws which appropriate revenue received to the departments which collect it, there is no budgetary control over about one-third of the annual revenue of the state. This money is expended without direct appropriation being made by the legislature and recommendation is made that this practice be discontinued, that all revenues collected be turned over promptly to the general fund, and that the legislature make appropriations for every governmental activity.

In conclusion some recommendations are made distinctly reactionary in character and so recognized by the board. The board points out that one method of decreasing the cost of government is to eliminate many of the activities which are now performed by the state. The repeal of all laws that support activities tending to stimulate and develop forestry, agriculture, or designed to regulate various lines of business, is suggested. Reduction in the appropriation for highways, return to the old public health system and reversion to the old system of obliging the towns to care for their own unfortunates, is suggested.

The report as a whole deals very largely with matters of finance and contains very little information which will be of value to students of state government, either in Vermont or in other states.

D. C. SOWERS.

Public Welfare Administration in Marion County, Indiana.—Marion County, Indiana, in which is situated the city of Indianapolis, is suffering from the ills which follow the attempt to manage a considerable portion of the affairs of a large urban community through the conventional institutions of county government. During the year 1920, the county commissioners caused to be made a survey of the county charitable and correctional institutions and the system of poor relief. The investigation was made by Henry C. Wright, Director of the Hospital and Institutional Bureau of Consultation, of New York City. The institutions under investigation, and concerning which a report with accompanying recommendations was made, include the county jail, the asylum for the insane, the asylum for the poor, the detention home for children and the tuberculosis hospital, as well as the system of outdoor relief.

Aside from the evils due to overcrowding in the several institutions, the most serious criticisms in the report are directed to the disposition of the insane and the administration of relief to the poor. A serious condition disclosed is that, because both the state and county asylums are crowded to capacity, within a period of two years no less than two hundred and forty-six persons suspected to be or adjudged to be insane have been incarcerated in the county jail. Though charged with no crime, these persons were confined in the jail an average period of nineteen days each.

The report recommends that at once a psychopathic service be established in connection with the state hospital in Indianapolis for the observation of cases, that the county asylum be closed and that all insane persons be committed to state institutions. It is recommended that legislation be secured forbidding the confinement of the insane in any institution except state insane asylums. This, it is believed, would remedy conditions, not only in Marion county, but elsewhere throughout the state where many insane are retained in the poorhouses. Such action would force the state to furnish the larger accommodations for those thus afflicted, which are already badly needed.

In Indiana, indoor relief is administered by the county commissioners, while outdoor relief is dispensed by the township trustee, though there is some interdependence between these authorities. In Marion county, as elsewhere through the state, especially in the cities, this system

seems to have been loosely administered and subject to serious abuses. This is especially charged in the case of the relief furnished by the trustees. It appears from an examination of the records that no recognized basis exists on which relief is given, nor do the records show the circumstances under which relief was granted, why it was discontinued, nor is it practicable, since the case books are not indexed, to know how frequently relief is extended to the same beneficiaries. Moreover, there seems to be no co-ordination of work with the activities of private agencies of relief.

The conclusion is drawn "That the machinery which was adequate for a small community has been outgrown, and is not now meeting the needs. The growth of population has so com-

plicated matters that new and better adapted machinery is imperative, if both the material and social needs are to be properly handled."

The final recommendation of the investigator is summed up as follows: "The obviously low standard of poor relief as administered in a township trustee's office, and the hampering of the work of the county commissioners due to the social problems which they must deal with, raises the question whether it would not produce better results to create a new board as an agent of the commission, whose functions it would be to administer the institutions now under their care, and to take over all of the 'overseer of the poor' work of the township trustees."

FRANK G. BATES.

Indiana University.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Reclassification of Federal Employees.—There is every reason to believe that some definite action is finally to be taken in the matter of reclassifying the positions and standardizing the salaries of the federal employees. Three measures are now actively competing for congressional favor. It is safe to predict that one of them will be written into law.

The first is the bill included in the report of the joint congressional commission on the reclassification of salaries that was originally introduced in April, 1920, by Senator Jones (N. M.), the chairman of the commission. This bill not alone classifies positions according to duties, and sets up standard salary rates, but it also seeks to standardize hours, leaves and other working conditions that are now generally considered by intelligent workers of all classes as constituting an essential part of compensation.

The second competitor or pair of competitors are the measures introduced by Representative Lehlbach in the House and later in a more simplified form by Senator Sterling in the Senate. These are avowedly based on the Jones' bill, both as to the classification and the salary scales. They undoubtedly mark a step in advance over the latter so far as these matters are concerned, because the classification is greatly condensed by a grouping of related services and a material reduction in the number of classes. This will greatly facilitate the making of appropriations and later administration. The two bills take cognizance, however, of little else than classification and salary rates, evidently on the assumption that it is possible to standardize compensation without standardizing hours and certain other working conditions. Such standardization complicates, but it is unquestionably necessary in real salary standardization.

The third and last measure is fathered by Senator Smoot and Representative Wood. It is very simple. It reduces the 1,700 classes described in the Jones' bill to eighteen grades, or salary ranges. Steam fitters, dictaphone operators, tax examiners, librarians ("performing library work of an intermediate grade") and clerks ("performing clerical work in connection

with personnel administration") are a few of the many classes put into a single grade and without proper definition of the terms used. This is obviously not even the skeleton of a classification.

The measures differ in another important respect in that the supervising and administering agency in the reclassification commission's bill, and that introduced by Senator Sterling, is to be the civil service commission; in the Lehlbach bill, it is the secretary of the treasury; and in the Smoot-Wood bill, it is the bureau of efficiency.

Finally, all the measures apply to the whole federal service except the Jones' bill, which limits its provisions to the federal employees in Washington in accordance with the act creating the reclassification commission.

W. E. MOSHER.

✱

The Status of Reclassification in Philadelphia.—Last October the Philadelphia civil service commission presented a report to council reclassifying the civil service and standardizing pay. To carry out the recommendations would have added about \$1,800,000 to the payroll, and the mayor insisted that the revenue was insufficient to meet the increase. At the beginning of the new year the controller reported a surplus from last year's operation more than sufficient to put the standard rates of pay into effect. But instead of installing the commission's report, council has begun hearings on requests for increases from different groups of employees or departmental officials and, in spite of protests from a minority, expects to act on the results of the hearing. This will mean haphazard and piecemeal wage adjustments which will postpone final solution of the difficulties to the detriment of the public service.

Indications are that essential wage readjustments in the federal service will likewise fail for the moment. The business leaders of the country will not welcome wage increases for public servants at a time when the effort in private industry is in the opposite direction.

✱

Charter Revision Commission for New York City.—Appointment of a commission to revise

the New York city charter, which hung in the balance for several months during the legislative session, is at last assured. In spite of the importance of this step, passage of the act creating the commission received but little attention, since it had become so identified with the resolution authorizing a joint legislative committee to investigate the administration of the city and county offices, that its ultimate fate depended entirely upon the success of the latter measure.

The charter revision act provides for a commission composed of fifteen residents of New York city, to be appointed by the governor within thirty days after November 1, 1921, the date when the act takes effect. Provision is made for the appointment to the commission of the mayor, comptroller, one of the borough presidents and an alderman, who are to serve only during incumbency of their several offices.

The commission is directed to draft and submit to the legislature with its final report a new charter, and, within its discretion, to prepare an administrative code or other body of supplementary local law. Broad powers of access and inquiry, including compulsory process, are granted the commission, which must report its recommendations not later than the legislative session of 1923.



Proposed Illinois Housing Code.—Senator Cornwall has introduced a state housing code into the Illinois legislature. The city club of Chicago provided a forum for the presentation of the pros and cons of the proposed code.

Senator Cornwall, who is a member of the Illinois housing and building commission, maintains that the code, drawn along the lines of Lawrence Veiller's model code, though omitting some features that would not pass the legislature, is a distinct step in advance, and probably the best code which can be secured at this time.

Chief Sanitary Inspector Charles B. Ball believes that the proposed code embodies dangerously low standards. He predicts that the provisions for ventilation and open spaces, which would permit a one-story building, whatever its height, to cover the rear lot up to ten feet from the rear wall of the dwelling, will result in overcrowding, with its accompanying industrial inefficiency, dependency, poverty, disease, death, juvenile delinquency, vice, crime and degeneracy of race.

It is the old conflict between the high standards, which those who have a right to speak believe

ought to be adopted, and the low standards, which those who have a vote in the legislatures believe can be enacted into law.

H. J.



May the Best Plan Win.—Montreal is certain to have a new charter, for on May 16 the electors vote as to whether they will adopt a general manager charter prepared by the charter commission, of which Sir Hormisdas Laporte has been chairman, or whether they will adopt an "aldermanic" charter, the source of which is unknown.

The "general manager" charter provides for a council of nine members elected by proportional representation from one electoral district, and for a period of four years, a mayor chosen from and by the council, and a general manager appointed by and responsible to the council. It also provides for heads of departments appointed by the council on the recommendation of the manager, a civil service commission composed of the heads of departments plus a civic employee chosen by all the municipal employees, a commission of sales and purchase, a city planning and improvement commission and a franchise bureau.

The recall of dishonest councillors is provided for, no further amendments are to be made to the city charter without a referendum of the electors, and there is to be no renewal or granting of public utility franchises without a public referendum. Councillors are prohibited from interfering with the administrative service.

Public and private information from Montreal indicates that the charter commission's charter has small chance of being adopted. However, three "reform" aldermen have put themselves on record as favoring it and as opposed to the alternate charter, "the parentage of which no one will admit." "Opposition apparently comes from former discredited aldermen, from the city contractors, from place hunters and other seekers after municipal favors." The city council itself is on record as in favor of the aldermanic charter by a vote of fourteen to three.

The chief contention is over the manager and proportional representation features.¹

W. J. DONALD.



Proportional Representation Notes.—West Hartford, Connecticut, a residential suburb of Hartford, has adopted a town-manager form of

¹The manager charter failed by 16,000 majority in favor of the aldermanic plan.

government with a council of fifteen in place of the old town meeting. The method of electing the council the first time was left by the legislature to the charter commission. The commission prescribed the election of the fifteen from four districts by the single transferable vote or Hare system.—The election was held on April 5.

The committee of the Canadian house of commons, appointed in accordance with a unanimous resolution passed in April, has recently taken testimony on proportional representation with the view to its possible adoption for some or all of the elections of the house.

The committee on proportional representation, appointed by the legislative assembly of Ontario, has reported in favor of trial of the system "in certain constituencies at the next election." It also recommends an amendment to the municipal act, permitting municipalities to elect their councils by P. R.

Administration Consolidation Defeated in New York.—Although passed by the senate with only five negative votes, the proposal for a constitutional amendment consolidating New York state departments died in the assembly. It was killed in rules committee, it is understood, by order of the governor. The measure had passed last year, and if passed again at the last session would have been submitted to the people. It would have consolidated the state's administrative activities into twenty-one departments. The governor, lieutenant-governor, controller and attorney-general would have been the only elective state officials.

Governor Miller in his annual message opposed reorganization by constitutional means, preferring the more plastic plan of statutory revision. However his legislative program, which he was eminently successful in putting through, called for no really progressive reorganization scheme. In fact, it was utterly devoid of any conception of a simplified consolidation plan for state activities.

New York State Board of Estimate and Control.—In lieu of the thoroughgoing consolidation amendment, the New York legislature has set up a board of estimate and control. This board will be the budget-making authority with power to revise appropriation requests, and is to supervise all state purchases and printing. It has power to investigate all expenditures and activities of all departments and agencies.

Recommendations based on such surveys must be carried out by the department head concerned, unless there are legal obstacles in the way. The board is also to have control over the spending of lump-sum appropriations.

New Jersey Creates State Police.—A bill establishing a state constabulary for New Jersey was passed over the governor's veto in the face of bitter opposition from organized labor. It provides for only two troops of fifty-eight men each. The police are to be employed primarily in protecting the rural sections of the state, and cannot be used as a *posse* in cities having organized police forces except by order of the governor upon request of the city authorities. From labor's standpoint the measure is more liberal than the Pennsylvania system.

Home Rule for Pennsylvania Cities.—An amendment to the Pennsylvania constitution, giving home rule by legislative enactment to cities of 10,000 population or over, will be voted on by the people this fall. If adopted, the legislature will be empowered to permit cities to frame and adopt their own charters. Optional governmental laws may be passed applying to cities and boroughs.

Zoning.—The Minnesota legislature has passed a law enabling Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, to adopt zoning ordinances. A survey is now under way in St. Paul, and an ordinance will be presented to the council this fall.

II. GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH NOTES

The establishment of three new bureaus indicates that the research movement has passed its crisis and is once more growing.

The Public Service Institute, 719 American Bank Building, Kansas City, Missouri, began work officially on April 1, with Mr. Walter

Matscheck as director. Mr. Matscheck was formerly with the civic department of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, and prior to that with the Dayton Bureau of Research.

Mr. Carl P. Herbert, of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, has been appointed,

effective April 1, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research at St. Paul, Minnesota. This bureau has been newly established.

Mr. C. M. Young is director of the new Bureau of Municipal Research, 1125 Fleming Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

The Municipal Research Bureau of Cleveland, under the date of March, 1921, has issued an extended statement upon the finances and financial methods of Cleveland, covering largely the matter of deficits and floating debt and the outlook for financing the current year.

Mr. C. N. Hitchcock, formerly with the Institute for Public Service, has become connected with the Barnes-Aimes Company, 105 Produce Exchange, New York.

The Milwaukee Citizens' Bureau is the new

title of the former Milwaukee Citizens' Bureau of Municipal Efficiency. The longer title was discarded when found unwieldy. The bureau is now located at 1318 First Wisconsin Bank Building, with Mr. Harold L. Henderson as director.

The Bureau for Research in Government of the University of Minnesota has issued "A History of the Constitution of Minnesota," by the director, Dr. Wm. Anderson, in collaboration with Dr. A. J. Lobb.

Three of the largest bureaus,—Cleveland, Toronto and Detroit,—are now principally financed by the Community Funds established in their respective cities. The Philadelphia Bureau is considering connection with the Philadelphia Community Fund.

ROBERT T. CRANE.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

The Civic Tour to Europe has been abandoned because of chaotic business conditions at home, in the face of which American business men were reluctant to be away from the United States.

The Southwestern Political Science Association recently held its second annual meeting at Austin, Texas. The principal subjects were state and local taxation, reorganization in state government, Mexican affairs, and training for social service. Professor A. N. Holcombe of Harvard lectured on the state as the agent of the nation.

The Summer School of Community Leadership will hold its seventh annual session at the University of Wisconsin, August 15 to 26. The school is conducted by the American City Bureau, and is specially adapted to the needs of civic workers, secretaries of chambers of commerce, and the like. The enrollment this year is limited to two hundred persons. A similar school will be conducted for the first time on the Pacific Coast for the benefit of those in the far West.

Community Center Conference.—The United States commissioner of education called in Washington during the latter part of April a national conference on the community center. The three-day program covered the use of the public school equipment for voting and organized pre-voting deliberation; the consequent reduction of election costs; the community secretary, that is, the publicly-employed clerk in the house of the

people; the co-ordination of the public school and the postal service and its relation to the direct marketing of farm products, and finally the public school community center as the neighborhood agency.

Legislative Program of Pennsylvania Women.—Mrs. Franklin P. Iams, chairman legislative committee of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Women's Clubs, has announced the following program for legislation: Prohibition enforcement act, giving state concurrent power to enforce federal act; a state budget system, with special emphasis on appropriations to non-state institutions; a call for a constitutional convention; legislation that will insure a modern, progressive and comprehensive school system; a children's code commission, to codify and simplify the numerous laws relating to children; adequate provision for reforestation and forest fire prevention; state correctional farms for jail and workhouse prisoners sentenced for more than thirty days, and compensatory employment for prisoners under state-user system; a state housing code; raising of standards of moving pictures; and adequate appropriations for state reformatory for women and village for feeble-minded women, and mothers' assistance fund. The Federation also gave notice that it would oppose all attempts to weaken labor laws for children, women or men. The prohibition enforcement act and the call for a constitutional convention were passed by the late legislature.

H. J.